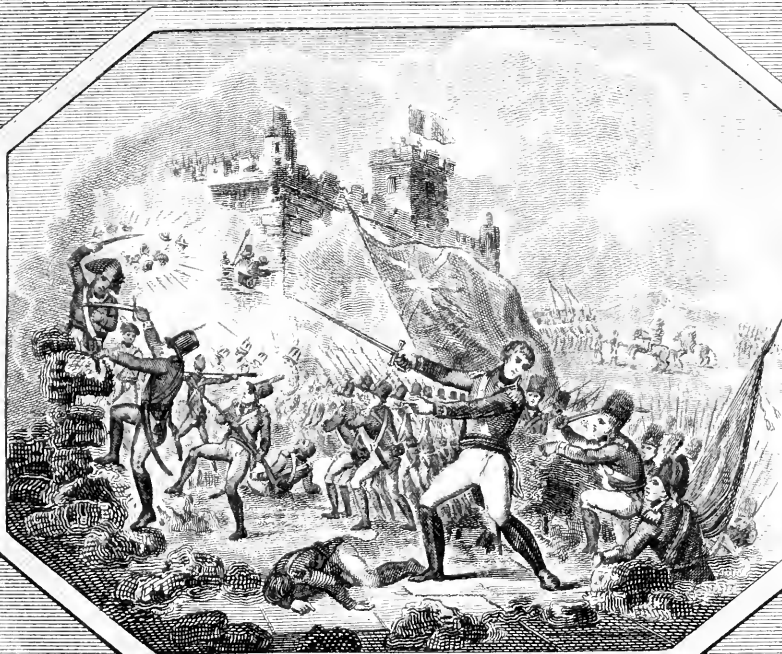






THE
LIFE
of the
Most Noble
ARTHUR MARQUESS OF
Wellington
&c. &c. &c.



*Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more,
Or close the wall up with our English dead!*

Shakspeare

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Paternoster Row.*



THE
LIFE
OF
THE MOST NOBLE
ARTHUR
MARQUIS AND EARL OF
WELLINGTON,

VISCOUNT WELLINGTON OF TALAVERA AND OF WELLINGTON,
AND BARON DOURO OF WELLESLEY, ALL IN THE COUNTY
OF SOMERSET, K. B.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL; MARSHAL GENERAL OF THE PORTUGUESE, AND
CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE SPANISH ARMIES;

Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces, serving in the Peninsula; also
DUKE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO, K. C. S. &c. &c.

WITH

COPIOUS DETAILS AND DELINEATIONS,
HISTORICAL,
Political, and Military,

OF THE VARIOUS
IMPORTANT SERVICES

In which he has been engaged in

FLANDERS,	IRELAND,	SPAIN, AND
INDIA,	DENMARK,	PORTUGAL

ALSO,

NUMEROUS INTERESTING

Professional Anecdotes,

NOT ONLY OF HIS BRETHREN IN ARMS, BUT ALSO OF THE GREAT GENERALS
OPPOSED TO HIM IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD.

FORMING

A Complete and General View of his Services,

AND OF THEIR BENEFICIAL CONSEQUENCES AS TO THE POLITICAL
SITUATION, AND HONOURABLE CHARACTER,
OF THE BRITISH NATION.

BY FRANCIS L. CLARKE.

LONDON:

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Preface.

THERE never was a question in politics, perhaps, in which there has been a greater, a more extreme, difference, than on that of the war in the Peninsula; and it is not less worthy of notice, that, perhaps, there never was a greater degree of unanimity of approval than at present upon this very question.

When all Spain rose, as it were by a miracle, (for the effect was simultaneous and without combination,) in opposition to the insidious thralldom of France, her exertions were looked on by many in this country with coldness, and even apathy. It was supposed impossible for a degraded, and almost enslaved, population to resist, even for a moment, the military power and political machinations of him who had conquered more than half of the civilized world. All feared her

her eventual success, and some prognosticated, with the most determined assertions, her eternal subjugation. Yet, in the space of a few short years, how changed is the scene!—so changed, that even our most desponding statesmen venture to look forward to her restoration to her ancient rank among the kingdoms of Europe, and to her resuming that rank accompanied with feelings of esteem and gratitude to Britain; feelings which, in future political connections, may ultimately tend highly both to the political welfare and internal comfort of each country. To what, then, has this wonderful, this extraordinary, change been owing? To what, indeed, but to the liberal and friendly assistance of this country;—to the gallantry of our troops, and to the consummate skill and approved valour of him who has so frequently led them on to glory! During the whole progress of this arduous, this almost unequalled contest, the gallant Wellington has unequivocally afforded grounds for the highest honors that his Sovereign could shower down upon him, or his grateful country could bestow. He has, by his example, given spirit and enthusiasm, not only to his own troops, but to those of the sister kingdoms of the Peninsula. By his consummate skill, indefatigable exertions, and excellent judgment, he has foiled the best Generals of France, overcome difficulties considered insuperable, and directed the exertions of Britain, and the force of her unfortunate allies, to those points where, in all cases, they were most available.

By his steadiness, and his Fabius movements, he has preserved his own strength unbroken, whilst that
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of his enemy was on the decline, and enabled the scattered bands of Patriots to acquire both discipline and numbers, and thus to produce a hardy race of soldiers, who, as Guerillas, have learned to despise French courage, and to counteract even French discipline. At the same time, by the well-timed rapidity of his manœuvres, when necessary, as well as by their secrecy and determined purposes, he has beat all the calculations of the enemy, according even to their own confessions; a proof of which, if proof were wanting, would be found on the fact of his having taken CIUDAD RODRIGO in half the time which the French general had considered possible; and thus, by its capture, connected with that of Almeida, always a military post of importance, not only formed a powerful defence for Portugal, but opened a way into the very heart of Spain.

This latter excellence of rapidity and determination was, indeed, always expected by his friends; and we shall have occasion to see, in the progress of this Biography, particularly in detailing his brilliancy of thought at the glorious battle of Assye, on the plains of Hindoostan, that their expectations were well founded; but the steadiness of his other operations, the self-denial with which he has delayed to pluck the laurels which Victory held out to him with open hand, are traits in his character which might have been considered as unlikely to appear, and that without derogating from the high character which he had acquired previous to his present distinguished rank in the Peninsula.

But it is to this latter part of his character that

much of the success of the present contest has been owing; and it is entirely owing to it that he has been enabled to overcome the various difficulties he had to encounter, as, opposed to the almost overwhelming power of France, commanded by her best generals, with a force of British troops, even now little more than half the number of French concentrated in any one spot. For, much as the Spanish and Portuguese troops have of late improved in discipline, and much as might have, even at first, been expected from their native courage, yet Lord Wellington could not trust the safety of his army, or the ultimate success of the cause, to an absolute dependence on their almost untried exertions; he has, nevertheless, known how to avail himself even of their inefficient state with a degree of judgment and spirit happily justified by the event.

We may then aver, without fear of contradiction, that on the valour of our troops, and on the skill of our general, (as it has been most eloquently said by one of our most exalted statesmen,) have depended the cause of Liberty in Spain, in Portugal, in Europe, nay in Britain herself, and throughout the whole Universe.

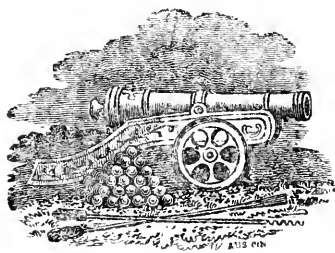
In the late brilliant campaigns, the conduct of our soldiers, too, has been unequalled, and our Parliamentary records justify that opinion which we heard a gallant general, and one well skilled in desultory warfare, and, of course, well qualified to judge, declare, "that he believed he might defy any other nation to produce soldiers so steady under arms, or so silent in a night attack." But it is not on the courage of our troops alone, that we have learned to depend, for we may add, that there is now no part of military arrange-
ment

ment in which our army does not, at least, equal that of any other : and well might the Earl of Liverpool lately boast in the House of Lords, that in our infantry, in cavalry, in our artillery, and engineering, and even in our commissariat, in the Peninsula, our superiority had been strikingly apparent. Such, as he justly added, was the effect of the excellent military discipline established at home, and put in practice and in action there, by the admirable judgment of the Earl of Wellington ; a superiority not only enjoyed by the British, but also severely felt by the enemy.

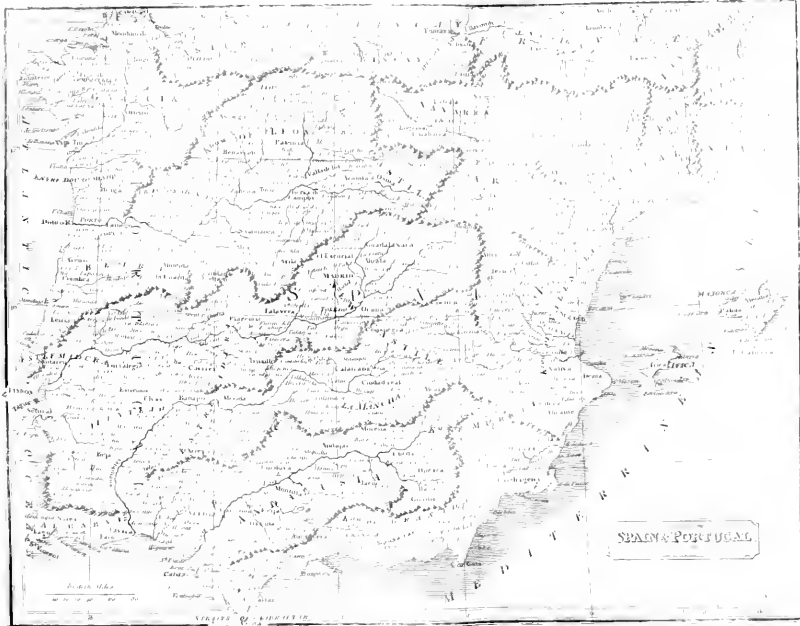
The good consequences of all this it is almost unnecessary to point out. There was no end of French boasting of driving us into the sea ; and of inviting us from our ships to the contest on land : but we have taught them to respect and fear us. In some points, though we have sacrificed much, yet the advantages gained have been equal to that sacrifice. Even the defence of Portugal, the possession of the ports of Spain, or at least their occupancy and preservation by the Patriots, and the neutralization of the Spanish Fleet, are objects of high importance, when we consider the facilities which the possession of all these things would have afforded to France. The stimulus, too, thus given to the population of Spain and Portugal, the military ardor infused into their bosoms, the love of liberty thus ingrafted into their hearts, will all tend to form and establish a new era in those countries, and in Europe, which may be expected to lead to the future internal welfare of each, and to the future equalization of political power, and consequent extension of liberty and promotion of peace.

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We must now close this slight sketch of the subject, with one observation on the character of our gallant fellow citizen. If we look at him, as will be exemplified in the course of this work, whether commanding, or commanded, we shall always find the same greatness of mind, whether checked in his pursuit in the moment of victory, as at Vimeira, by the orders of a superior ; or prompted to delay the accomplishment of brilliant measures, where victory was certain, in order to spare the blood of his gallant comrades in arms. :







INTRODUCTION.

IF it is by experience that we gain wisdom, and by a comparison of nearly similar events that we can best form an accurate judgment, it will not be irrelevant, in our introductory part, to take a slight sketch of the causes and conduct of a former war carried on by Great Britain in the Peninsula; and that, by a very curious coincidence, nearly in the very corresponding years of the preceding century. In the conduct and issue of that war, and in the conduct and probable issue of the present one, there has, indeed, been a great contrast; for there we were merely as auxiliaries though now we have acted more immediately as principals. At that period, too, we were in opposition to that branch of the House of Bourbon whose rights we are now defending; and in our objects we were unsuccessful, though without tarnishing the honor of the British name.

When in the year 1701, Charles II. of Spain, a branch of the House of Austria, deceased without issue, Philip Duke of Anjou, grandson of Lewis XIV. being second son of the Dauphin of France, assumed the Spanish crown, according to the will of the deceased monarch; but the Emperor of Germany having put up one of his own family as a claimant, it was considered as the interest of Great Britain to support him, in order to prevent the accession of such power to France, by her Royal Family thus coming into possession of the immense possessions and resources of

the Spanish empire. There was also a party in Spain inimical to the French interest ; and it was hoped that, by spirited measures, an Austrian prince might be established on the throne of Spain.

Charles III. the Austrian claimant, arrived in England in 1703; and, in 1704, an auxiliary force of 12,000 British and Dutch troops was sent to Portugal; the English under Duke Schomberg, and the Dutch under General Fagel. King Charles immediately published a manifesto, setting forth his right to the crown of Spain; and on the arrival of the expedition at Lisbon, the Portuguese having already joined the grand alliance against France, the King of Portugal published a declaration in which he vindicated the claim of Charles, and gave his own reasons for taking up arms in his defence and support. The Bourbon prince, under the title of Philip V. was not backward in preparing for hostilities, but immediately declared war against his competitor, and also against the King of Portugal and his other allies; and, having hastily assembled an army, proceeded to the Portuguese frontier, when he captured Segura; Salvatierra, and some other places.

It being understood that the Catalonians were partial to the cause of the allies, Sir George Rooke, with a British squadron, proceeded with the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt and a force of 2500 men to Barcelona, where he landed the troops; but being disappointed in his expectations of a flattering reception and co-operation, the army was again embarked, and the squadron proceeded towards Toulon.

In June of the same year, (1704) the Portuguese were found to be very dilatory in furnishing the proper supplies which they had promised, so that nothing could be done. There was also a great want of cordiality amongst the generals of the three nations, English, Dutch, and Portuguese, so that the Duke of Schomberg, weary of his command, was anxious to be recalled, and was superseded by Henry de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway.

The Spanish monarch in July put an end to his short campaign, on account of the heat of the weather, and returned to Madrid, having put his army in cantonments; and, fearing that it would be impossible to retain his petty conquests, destroyed all their fortifications, except those of Salvatierra and Mervan, and abandoned them to their fate.

Though our troops were thus left in idleness, yet our admiral was determined to do something; accordingly he returned from Toulon towards Gibraltar, and captured that fortress on the 10th of July, after a siege of three days, having landed the Prince of Hesse with only 1800 men. On the 13th of August the combined English and Dutch fleets defeated the united French squadrons from Toulon and Brest, and obliged them, in a most shattered condition, to retire to Toulon; a part of them, however, was enabled soon after to proceed to the southward when the combined squadrons had left the Streights, and the Sieur de Pontis, with a considerable force, blockaded Gibraltar by sea, the Spaniards having commenced the siege of it in September.

In 1705 Gibraltar was relieved by Sir John Leake, who surprized and defeated the French squadron; and in May, the Portuguese and confederate forces having commenced the siege of Alcantara, took it by storm after six days; Salvatierra and Albuquerque being soon after retaken. In the same month the Earl of Peterborough was sent from England, with 5000 additional troops, in a fleet commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel; after touching at Lisbon, where King Charles embarked along with him, they proceeded to Gibraltar, and afterwards to Altea Bay, where a manifesto was published; and the advices from Barcelona being very encouraging, the earl was induced to proceed there, where he landed the troops, accompanied by the king, and was soon reinforced by great numbers of Spaniards. On the 3d of September, Monjuick was taken after a siege of three days, but the gallant Prince of Hesse fell in the attack; in three weeks after-

wards Barcelona surrendered, and all Catalonia immediately declared for King Charles.

On the opposite side of Spain the allies had laid siege to Badajoz, but were obliged soon after to raise it by the Marshal du Thesse, the French general in command of the combined French and Spanish army; and, in the contest, the Earl of Galway lost his right hand.

The proceedings in Catalonia were, however, considered so important for the general cause, that both Houses of Parliament at home were induced to congratulate her majesty upon her message informing them of these events, in November 1705. But the progress of the allies on the eastern side was still very circumscribed, little remarkable happening until the latter end of December, when a Catalonian Colonel, of the name of Nebot, was induced to leave the opposite party, with about 950 cavalry, and to join King Charles at Denia, in Valencia, who soon after captured Xabea, a small place in that vicinity, which slight successes seem to have induced the whole kingdom of Valencia to declare in his favor, when his new friend, Colonel Nebot, took possession of its capital.

At the close of the year the French and Spanish armies proceeded to besiege Valencia; but the Earl of Peterborough having marched with the English army to its relief, this plan was given up, and an attack was made upon St. Mattheo; but Peterborough not only obliged them to decamp, but also took possession of Morviedro.

In the early part of 1706, a battle of some importance for the numbers engaged, but of little in its consequences to either party, took place at San Estevan de Libera, after which the Spanish and French troops, under du Thesse, commenced the siege of Barcelona; which was, however, so speedily raised, on the arrival of Sir John Leake from Lisbon to its relief, that the assailants left behind them 106 brass guns, 23 mortars, and an immense quantity of provisions

sions and ammunition. On the opposite side of the kingdom, the allies took Alcantara, in which they found 47 pieces of brass cannon; and Moraliza and Coria having soon after fallen, the Earl of Galway published a manifesto in the name of his royal mistress, calling upon the Spaniards to acknowledge King Charles as their lawful monarch.

In May, in the same year, Ciudad Rodrigo was captured by the allies, after a siege of five days; and the news of the raising of the siege of Barcelona having just then arrived, the Portuguese were in high spirits, and the allies proceeded to push through Spain for Madrid, where King Philip returned with all possible expedition; but, soon finding that he had no troops on whom he could depend, he destroyed every thing of value which he could not carry off, and retired towards Burgos in order to be ready for a retreat into France.

On the 26th of May, Carthagena declared for the Austrian claimant, and was secured by an English squadron; and in June the English and Portuguese confederate army, commanded by the Earl of Galway and the Marquis des Minas, pushed on for Madrid, which made such an impression upon the inhabitants, that deputies were sent out to acknowledge their submission and allegiance to their new monarch. On taking possession of the capital King Charles was proclaimed, and the example of the inhabitants of Madrid was voluntarily followed by Toledo, and several other places of importance, inclusive of the whole kingdom of Arragon. Charles, however, was still with the English army at Barcelona, and is accused of want of celerity in staying too long there, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of the Earl of Peterborough, and the invitations of the generals in the capital, who were all anxious that he should repair to Madrid. But even when he set out for that place he occupied so much time in the siege of Saragossa, that the confederate forces, for some reason never sufficiently explained, had evacuated Madrid, whither King Philip soon after proceeded with a few forces, having had time to recover-

ver from his alarm at the former rapidity of movement on the part of his assailants.

In Valencia the war was still carried on with some briskness ; and, in July, Sir John Leake proceeded with the English fleet before Alicant, which was immediately afterwards taken by storm, though the castle held out for a short time ; but at length surrendered upon an honourable capitulation. This, however, was but of little importance to the cause of Charles ; for the return of Philip to Madrid had such an effect, as to induce the kingdom of Castile to declare for him.

King Charles was, therefore, compelled to join the confederate army at Guadalaxara ; and this he was the sooner reduced to, as the Earl of Peterborough, who had just then received the commission of an ambassador extraordinary, was leaving the eastern coast of Spain, in order to proceed for Italy, in hopes of raising some supplies. Soon after, Sir John Leake arrived at Majorca with the British fleet, and obliged that island and Iviça to declare for King Charles ; but this was shortly counterbalanced by the recapture of Carthagena ; and the year was closed with the death of Pedro, King of Portugal.

The year 1707 was a most unfortunate one for the confederate arms ; for, on the 5th of April, they were completely defeated at Almanza, whilst under the command of the Marquis des Minas, and the Earl of Galway, having upwards of 10,000 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The whole number of British in the action were only 14,000 ; yet it is believed that it was entirely owing to the ill conduct of the Portuguese that the day was lost. So strong indeed was this opinion, that the House of Lords shortly after severely censured the Earl of Galway for having yielded the post of honour on that day to the Portuguese. It was also matter of complaint at home that the number of British troops was so small, although 29,000 had been voted by Parliament for the service of the Peninsula.

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The shattered remains of the confederate army were, notwithstanding their defeat, able to retire in pretty good order to Alcira, from whence they sent their wounded to Barcelona, and then crossed the Ebro, where King Charles had retired some time before with a small force, and was stationed at Tortosa at the mouth of that river. This movement they were now obliged to make, in order to defend Catalonia.

The victorious army pursuing their advantage, and being no longer kept in check by the confederates, soon recovered Valencia, Saragossa, &c. but Philip lost much of his popularity by the atrocious conduct of France, in ordering the unfortunate town of Xativa, on the right bank of the river Xucer, in Valencia, to be utterly burnt and destroyed, and in depriving both Arragon and Valencia of some of their most ancient privileges. In July the party of King Charles was so strong in Italy, that he was proclaimed king at Naples; but his cause began to decline rapidly in Spain, fresh forces having arrived from France, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, who invested and took Limosa, a strong and well fortified town in Catalonia, under the observance of the confederate army: yet to counterbalance this in some degree, the Imperialists, under Count Thaurin in Italy, captured Gaeta by storm, where they laid hold of all the partizans of King Philip in that country, and were thus enabled to secure Naples for King Charles.

So great was the discontent at home at this period, respecting the conduct and issue of the war, that very strong debates were held in both Houses; yet nobody thought of giving up the cause, but each body of the legislature came forward with an address to Queen Anne, stating their opinion, that no peace could be safe or honourable for the country, or for our allies, which would secure Spain and her colonies to the power of France. They also requested her to call on the emperor to send some additional and powerful reinforcements into Spain, under the command of Prince

Eugene,

Eugene, (the Wellington of that day) but the emperor appears almost to have neglected this remonstrance from our court, as he merely sent a few troops under Count Stahremberg.

It is also a curious fact, that the House of Commons, after a long and close examination, addressed her majesty complaining that there were then only 8660 British troops in the Peninsula, instead of 30,000, the number voted; to which the answer was, that nearly the whole number voted *had* been sent, but were now thus reduced in consequence of death and desertion.

About the middle of 1708, after a long interval of quiet, the French captured Tortosa on the left bank of the Ebro; an advantage counterbalanced by our conquest of Minorca on the 19th of August by Sir John Leake, and Major General Stanhope, with only 3264 men; and; in November, Denia and Alicant again fell under the French arms.

The siege of Alicant having been undertaken by the French, and conducted mostly as a blockade for three months,* they contrived at last to form a mine under the rock on which the castle stands, which being partly blown up, the governor and several valuable officers lost their lives; yet the castle held out nearly two months longer, and was only forced to surrender, but on honourable terms, after a siege conducted with great exertion.

On the 27th of April another unfortunate defeat of the confederate troops took place on the banks of the river Caya, after which the Earl of Galway escaped with great difficulty; but the Earl of Barrymore, Major General Sank-ey, Brigadier Pearce, and two whole brigades, were made prisoners of war.

Some negotiations about this time had taken place, by which it was stipulated that Charles III. should be acknowledged as the lawful Spanish monarch, and that the French army should evacuate that kingdom; but Lewis XIV. after amusing himself with the credulity of the allies, laughed at
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the treaty, and most shamefully evaded its signature, so that the war was recommenced, when Count Stahremberg, the Imperial general, was lucky enough to capture Fort Ballaguer, on the banks of Rio Segre, in Catalonia, a strong post with a garrison of 700 men.

The French ministry, in 1710, in order to amuse the allies, and to gain time, again made some pacific proposals, in which they offered to consent to a partition of Spain; but in this the allies knew them to be insincere; nor would they themselves, indeed, have agreed to it; and, notwithstanding the Gallic machinations, the tide of success began to turn in favour of King Charles, whose army, commanded by General Stanhope, (ancestor of the present Earl Stanhope,) defeated King Philip at Almanera, in Catalonia, on the 16th of July, when the French, having lost about 1500 in killed and wounded, were obliged to retire to Lerida; but, being closely pursued by the confederates, fell back upon Saragossa. On the 10th of the ensuing month, August, King Charles being then with the army, another brilliant victory was obtained over King Philip near Saragossa, which city immediately opened its gates to the conquerors; and so powerful did Charles then feel himself in Castile, that he immediately superseded the form of government established by Philip, restored the ancient rights of the Castilians, and reinstated their former magistrates. Indeed the French power was at this juncture so weakened, that Philip, not feeling himself safe at Madrid, retired to Valladolid; and the confederates marching towards the capital, General Stanhope advanced with the cavalry, and took possession of it on the 10th September, 1710.

About a fortnight afterwards Charles made his appearance in his capital; but soon found that the inhabitants were more attached to his rival than to himself: he soon left it therefore, and placed his troops in quarters to the southward of it, and in the vicinity of Toledo, in full confidence that, notwithstanding the disaffection of the capital, he might still

be enabled to spend the winter thus in the very heart of Spain by the aid of the Portuguese; but they having disappointed him, and King Philip again collecting some forces, he was obliged to retire into Arragon, where, in the succeeding November, Major General Stanhope, with a British force of 2000 men at Brihuega, was surprised and made prisoner of war, by the unexpected junction of the French and Spanish armies.

The Imperial general, Count Stahremberg, hearing of his danger, marched immediately to his relief, but was too late to prevent the disaster; he was fortunate enough, however, to fall in with the enemy under King Philip and the Duke of Vendosme, about one league from Brihuega, when he brought them to action at Villaviciosa, and defeated them, although their forces amounted to 25,000 men. After this, Stahremberg advanced to Saragossa; but, for some reason never explained, soon retired into Catalonia, thereby enabling Philip to return to Madrid, where the inhabitants received him with open arms; and, on the 16th December, Gerona, the key of Catalonia, was permitted to fall into the hands of the French army, after a gallant resistance of six weeks, so that Charles was obliged to retire to Barcelona.

This disastrous and unexpected turn of the campaign naturally produced a great sensation at home: and in the commencement of 1711, the House of Lords having entered into an enquiry on the cause of our losses, Lord Peterborough succeeded in throwing the blame upon the Earl of Galway, whilst he himself received public thanks. Instead, however, of sending him out again to Spain, he was appointed plenipotentiary to the Austrian court, and the Duke of Argyll was entrusted with the high commissions of ambassador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary, and of commander in chief in Spain. These proceedings were followed up by a vote of the Upper House, that the Earl of Galway, in yielding up the post of honour to the Portuguese at the battle of

of Almanza, had acted contrary to the honour of the imperial crown of Great Britain.

In Spain, affairs began to take a more disastrous turn ; for in August, the Portuguese having entered into a separate negotiation with King Philip and the French court, King Charles found it necessary in the ensuing month to embark at Barcelona for Italy. On his arrival in Italy, he was elected King of the Romans, and Emperor of Germany ; and, on being crowned at Frankfort on the 11th of December 1711, seems to have given up all further thoughts of the Spanish crown. In order to do away some of the objections to his establishment on the throne of Spain, King Philip, now settled at Madrid, published his renunciation of all claims to the succession in France ; and in September of the same year, Lord Lexington having proceeded to Madrid to receive the fore-mentioned renunciation, the English forces, then in Catalonia, commanded by Brigadier Pearce, were embarked on board the squadron under the orders of Sir John Jennings, who immediately proceeded for Minorca, where the colours of King Charles were hauled down, and those of the English substituted in their stead.

On the 5th of November, the act of renunciation took place in the presence of the English ambassador, and was registered by the Cortes, and from that period we may consider the war at an end.

To draw a parallel between those events and the transactions of a later date would here be premature ; but we shall have occasion to notice them more fully, and shall now proceed to the principal design of the work.

LIFE

OF THE MOST NOBLE

MARQUIS WELLINGTON.

SECTION I.

Preliminary observation—Ancient respectability of the Family of Colley, now Wellesley—Birth—Military Education—Progress to the Rank of Field officer—First military Embarkation for Brittany—Observations—Joins the Army in Flanders—Capture of Tournay, and Anecdotes—Evacuation of Ostend—Judicious conduct of the Earl of Moira—affair at Alost—Anecdotes of General Doyle—Conduct of the French Army—Invasion of Holland—Military Anecdotes—Gallant affair at Boxtel—Meritorious Conduct of the Governor of Grave—Attack of the Waaj—Gallant attack of the Tuyl—Retreat through Holland—Conduct of the Dutch—Affair at Metteren, and gallant behaviour of the 33d Regiment—Dreadful Sufferings of the army—Exemplary Conduct of His Royal Highness the Duke of York—Evacuation of Holland—Embarkation at Bremen—Return to England.

IF example is more powerful than precept, no apology can be necessary for a minute detail of great and virtuous actions; and there is perhaps no mode more generally useful and efficacious for the preservation and extension of that example, than in recording the *Biography* of the great and good.

Indeed, the historic page is never so interesting as in the delineation of active worth; volumes may be filled with the black catalogue of tyranny and oppression, exciting no other feeling than abhorrence at the crimes and depravity of human nature; but when one bright gleam of sunshine illumines our page, when we see high birth, brilliant genius, and unwearied activity, employed in resistance to the invader, in supporting the rights of *native princes*, at the two extremes

tremes of the old world, and humanely engaged in mitigating the captivity even of the sons of the usurper, the eye dwells on it with unspeakable satisfaction, and we proudly exclaim, "This is our countryman!"

Such must be the sensations of every man on advertising to the military career of the subject of our present biography, who, though scarcely arrived at what is called middle life, has yet attained a pitch of military glory, which entitles him to the esteem of his fellow citizens, and holds him up an example to his *younger brethren* in arms.

Though the personal worth of the *Marquis of Wellington* is alone sufficient to give splendour to nobility; yet the natural curiosity respecting the origin and family antiquity of such a man induces us to take a slight sketch of his ancestors, who were originally of English descent, being settled in the county of Rutland, for time immemorial, under the appellation of Cowley, Cooley, or **Colley*, as is now the modern mode of writing it.

In the reign of Henry VIII. when many gentlemen of family were induced, by royal grants, to emigrate to Ireland, two brothers of this family, Walter and Robert Cowley, established themselves at Kilkenny, and were presented by the King, in his 22d year, with a grant of the office of clerk of the crown in chancery for, and during, their lives respectively.

It is evident that both brothers had been brought up to the bar; for the younger became Master of the Rolls, and the eldest, *Walter*, ancestor of the present family, was appointed Solicitor General of Ireland in 1537; but having surrendered that Office in 1546, he was two years afterwards raised to that of Surveyor General of that kingdom.

His eldest son, Sir Henry Colley, appears to have
dedicated

* In Glaiston church, Rutlandshire, there is a monument for Walter Colley, Esq. and Agnes his wife. He was lord of the manor in 1407.

Character of his ancestors by Sidney.

dedicated himself to the profession of arms; for he held a commission from Queen Elizabeth of Captain in the army, from whom he also received a warrant in 1559 to execute martial law in the districts of Offaley, Carbery, &c. His conduct in this important commission was so satisfactory, that he was soon after appointed a commissioner of Array for the county of Kildare; and was soon after chosen representative for the borough of Thomastown in the county of Kilkenny in the parliament of that year. As some reward for his services, he was knighted by Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, and appointed a member of the Privy Council; but the best proof of his worth was contained in a letter from Sidney to his successor, in which he said, "My good Lord, I had almost forgotten, by reason of diversity of other matter, to recommend unto you, amongst other of my friends, Sir Henry Cowley, a Knight of mine own making; who, whilst he was young, and the ability and strength of his body served, was valiant, fortunate, and a good servant; and having, by my appointment, the charge of the King's County, kept the country well ordered, and in good obedience. He is as good a borderer as ever I found any where. I left him at my coming thence a counsellor, and esteemed him, for his experience and judgment, very sufficient for the room he was called unto. He was a sound and fast friend to me; so I doubt not but your Lordship shall find, when you have occasion to employ him."

This able statesman is also further most honourably mentioned by Sir Nicholas Malby, who says, "He is an English gentleman, Sengschal of the County, who governed very honestly, but now is sore oppressed by the rebels, the Connors." By his Lady Catherine, who was a daughter of Sir Thomas Cusack of Cussington in the county of Meath, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, he had three sons, of whom the second, Sir Henry of Castle Carbury, was the immediate ancestor
of

of the present line. During his father's life time, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he was constable of Philipstown Fort, afterwards Seneschal of the king's county; and, in 1561, appointed by the Earl of Sussex, the Lord Deputy, Provodore of the Army, similar to the modern officer of Commissary General.

He was long occupied in preserving and in securing the peace of the county; in which he appears to have been at last successful; for, in 1571, he prevailed on all the leading representatives of the Irish families, in that vicinity, to appear before him at Philipstown, and to bind themselves, by mutual recognizances, not only to preserve the public peace, but also to answer for each other's good behaviour, and to deliver up each other to him, whenever he should call upon them. It was not until 1576, that he received the honour of Knighthood in Christ Church, Dublin, on St. George's day; and he appears to have continued to fulfil his military duties until 1599, and to have been representative for the borough of Monaghan in the Parliament of 1613. He married Anne, daughter of his Grace, Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and his eldest Son, *Sir Henry Colley*, succeeded him at Castle Carbury, of whom we only find it recorded that he married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Christopher Peyton, Esq. Auditor General of Ireland; and his eldest Son *Dudley Colley*, of Castle Carbury, Esq. having distinguished himself much in the royal cause, was appointed an officer in the army by King Charles II. soon after the Restoration, and had also a grant and confirmation of the lands of Ardkill and Collingstown in Kildare. He was also member of Parliament for Philipstown. This Dudley married Anne, daughter of Henry Warren of Grangebeg in the county of Kildare, Esq. and had a numerous family by her, of whom Henry was his successor; and a daughter Elizabeth married Garret Wellesley (or Wesley) of Dangan in the county

Family first ennobled.

county of Meath, Esq. a family of ancient Saxon extraction, being settled in the county of Sussex.*

This Henry Colley, Esq. by his marriage with Mary, only daughter of Sir William Usher, of Dublin, Knt. left a numerous family : and his youngest son, *Richard Colley*, was the first who adopted the name of Wellesley, as heir to his first cousin, Garret Wesley, of Dangan, who left him all his estates on condition of his taking the name and arms of that family, all which was granted, and recorded in the Herald's office, &c. in 1728. He appears to have held several offices under the crown ; was Auditor and Registrar of the Royal Hospital of Kilmainham, second Chamberlain of the Court of Exchequer, Sheriff of the county of Meath in 1734, and member of Parliament for the borough of Trim in the same year. In consideration of his public services, his Majesty George II. was pleased to create him a peer of Ireland, by the title of Baron of Mornington, in 1747. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Sale, LL. D. Registrar of the diocese of Dublin, and representative in Parliament for the borough of Carysfort ; and his eldest son, *Garret*, having succeeded him in his barony, was soon after, in 1760, created Viscount Wellesley and Earl of Mornington, having before that held the office of *custos rotulorum* of the county of Meath. He married Anne, † eldest

2. D daughter

* This family emigrated to Ireland, in 1172, the first Irish ancestor being standard-bearer to Henry II. His descendants distinguished themselves much in several successive reigns in a military capacity, and received various grants of lands for those services ; but, being now extinct, their name, though not their blood, is represented by the present noble family of Colley Wellesley.

† This is a very ancient family, originally Norman. Their first appellation was *De la Montagne* ; nor did they adopt the English translation until the reign of Edward III. at which time they possessed considerable landed estates in Stafford and Devonshires. An early ancestor was Sir John Hill, a learned serjeant of the law, in the reign of Edward III. and they were first settled in Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

Exemplary conduct of Marquis Wellesley.

daughter of the Right Honourable Arthur Hill, Viscount Dungannon, and had issue, the present Marquis of Wellesley, William, now Wellesley Pole, in consequence of inheriting the estates of William Pole, of Ballifin, Esq. ARTHUR, the subject of our present biography, and several other children.

The first earl having died whilst a great part of his family were yet in their infancy, a most important care devolved upon their amiable mother, whose prudent and energetic conduct overcame the obstacles attendant upon an impaired state of fortune, arising from causes which it had been impossible to counteract. It has been well said, that her wise and liberal œconomy, in conjunction with the energies of an active and well informed mind, had supplied not only the deficiencies of fortune, but also the loss of a father. It must be confessed, indeed, that much of this power to do good on the part of Lady Mornington arose from the very generous and liberal conduct of the present Marquis, who, with a magnanimity and fraternal conduct which must always redound to his honour, gave up the entire management of the family estates to her guidance; and, though in the hey-day of youth, not only submitted cheerfully to those prudential restraints which her paternal care suggested, but actually paid off all his father's debts, out of an honourable regard to his memory.

ARTHUR, the subject of our present biography, was born on the 1st of May 1769: and, at an early age, was sent to Eton, that he might receive the benefit of a public education; and, as he had chosen the army for his profession, he afterwards went, at the close of the American war, to Angiers, in France, in order that he might acquire the theory of military science in that celebrated school, then under the direction of the much esteemed *Pigneron*, who has long been

Elizabeth, under the patronage of Walter Devereaux, the famous Earl of Essex; since which period their loyalty and gallantry have always made them favourites of the successive monarchs.

Early rank in the army.

been considered as the Vauban of modern warlike architecture and engineering.*

After acquiring a fund of information, and thereby laying a good foundation for future observation and study, our young candidate for military fame received his first commission in the army at an early period of life: and this taking place during the time of peace, he had leisure to apply his scientific knowledge to garrison and regimental practice, in which we are enabled to say, that his conduct was such as to merit the esteem of all his brother officers; for he applied himself sedulously to the best authors on the subject of military affairs, thus forming a basis for future military fame: and, having his own rank and connections to trust to for promotion, he preserved throughout a gentlemanlike and steady independence.

We have not been able to ascertain the date of his first commission: but we find that at the age of twenty-three he bore the rank of captain in the 18th regiment of light dragoons, from which corps, on the 30th of April 1793, he was appointed to the majority of his present regiment, the 33d, in the room of Major Gore, who then resigned.

In this junior rank of Field-officer he did not long remain, but availed himself of his seniority to purchase in succession from Lieutenant Colonel Yorke, who resigned his commission in that regiment; and his appointment took place on the 30th September 1793.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wellesley, now scarcely four and
D 2
twenty,

* The advantages derived from the mode of preparation for an active and public life must have been very great, when we consider that Angiers, under the old regime of France, was a large town, with upwards of 30,000 inhabitants; and contained not only an university founded by St. Louis, but also an academy of belles lettres instituted in 1685; thereby affording every opportunity for the acquirement of general and useful knowledge, and also that polish, so useful, so essential, in an enlarged intercourse with mankind.

twenty, engaged in active service under his gallant countryman the Earl of Moira, and early in 1794 was actually embarked with that force which was intended to have erected the standard of loyalty in Brittany;* but the fate of the Netherlands and of Flanders was no sooner decided by the unfortunate issue of

* With respect to the propriety of this expedition, both in its object and the various details connected with the formation of the force and means intended, there have been a variety of opinions; but as his Lordship has lately acted so conspicuous a part on the theatre of politics at home, it may be interesting to notice the manly and rational vindication of his own conduct which took place in the House of Lords on that occasion in February 1794. Alluding to some observations which had been thrown out in the lower House upon the plan and object in view, he detailed, with clear and manly eloquence, the general outlines of the expedition, the views of ministry, and the various communications which had taken place with the Royalists on that subject. He informed the House that he had communicated with government early in the preceding October (1793) and then was first made acquainted with the extent of the assistance intended to be afforded to the Royalists. The importance of the object, and the extent of the means, he considered as sufficient to determine him to accept of the proposed command, and to risque the responsibility which he considers as attached to it. To the accusation of an illegal appointment of French officers, he urged, that the motives which actuated his conduct were strictly proper; and the reasons which he stated were, that he understood from indubitable sources of information that the Royalists, though in possession of a great number of cannon, had no men capable of managing them; it therefore became an object with him to take as many artillery men with him as possible to supply this deficiency: unfortunately, however, it happened that the exertions made by the government here in other expeditions had so exhausted the country, that the number of artillery men which were sent to him scarcely amounted to one seventh of the number he had requested. Under these circumstances he suggested to ministers the propriety of employing some French artillery officers, then on the continent, in his army; those gentlemen were sent for; and as it could not be expected that they could defray their own expenses, they were put upon an allowance, but not upon the regular establishment.

In consequence of this arrangement he had appointed two French officers to be his Aids-du-Camp, and one to be Quarter-Master-General, to act in the Royalists' army when the junction should take place.

This explanation was so plain and simple, that the voice of party and the whispering of slander were completely hushed.

of the early part of the campaign of that year, under His Royal Highness the Duke of York, than his Lordship was ordered to proceed with his little army to Ostend.

It is not our place here to enter minutely upon the question of the continental coalition war; the subject has already been sufficiently canvassed: yet though there were many who predicted defeat in this country, it was then still the opinion of a great majority of the political world that France, torn as she was by disunion and mistrust, would be unable to cope with the veteran troops of Europe. That there were strong grounds for this latter opinion may well be inferred from a consideration that even one or two only of the confederate powers had, in former wars, been fully able to cope with that country when a potent monarchy; and that, even in her most flourishing periods, France had been not only successfully opposed in her ambitious designs, but even reduced to the utmost distress.

It was forgot, however, by one party, and perhaps overlooked even by the other, (for the forebodings of doubt and despair were certainly rather hazarded as oracular prophetic denunciations, than as conclusions drawn from past experience,) that the constant jealousies which had for so many ages existed between the coalesced powers would still operate against the general unanimity and singleness of plans and views which were so necessary to ensure ultimate success.

With respect to our own exertions, it may fairly be concluded that our force was too small for us to act as principles; for though it was, perhaps, numerically larger than any which we had previously sent to the continent; yet times and circumstances, and even the mode of warfare, were much changed since that period when campaigns were conducted often by movements only, without coming to action; and when the siege of one or two towns, undertaken in
some

some measure like holiday amusements, were considered as sufficient employment for a summer.

There is no doubt, also, that much of the calamity attendant upon our campaign of 1794, under His Royal Highness the Duke of York, arose from the want of cordiality in the inhabitants of the country in which our operations were carried on: for it has been well observed, that though at first our troops were on a very friendly footing with the inhabitants of Flanders, yet still so rooted was the aversion of that people to the Austrian government, and so partial were they to the principles and views of the French republican party, that their troops were always welcomed into the towns with the loudest acclamations, and always treated with every mark of attachment.

It must also be remembered that in the reign of Joseph the 2d, most of the fortifications in Flanders had been completely destroyed, in consequence of the perturbed state of the country, and its disposition to revolt. This, however, turned out a mistaken policy; for many of these were the most complete works ever constructed, and would have been of the utmost service in obstructing the progress of the French arms in the early part of the campaign.

After the surrender of Tournay,* indeed on the very

* The evacuation of Tournay was followed by one of those occurrences so shocking to humanity, and yet so frequent during the greatest part of the revolution. One who was almost an eyewitness of this melancholy event relates, that amongst the numerous victims of insatiable French barbarity were two beautiful young women respectably situated as milliners in that city. Britannia's sons, says this pleasing writer, are ever tremblingly alive to the charms of the fair sex; it is no wonder, therefore, that the angelic sisters of the *grande place* found many admirers in the Duke of York's army, which had been so long, and so frequently, encamped in the neighbourhood. The young women selected their favorites, and *attachement du cœur* subsisted between them and two English officers; and, after the evacuation of the town, letters from their absent lovers were found in their possession,

Arrival at Ostend.

very day on which the capitulation was signed, His Royal Highness was obliged to abandon his position near Oudenarde, and to retire towards Antwerp; to which city he sent his sick and wounded. The French immediately took possession of Oudenarde; and, most fortunately for themselves, were there supplied, as well as at Tournay, with large quantities both of military stores and provisions, for want of which they must otherwise have soon been in extreme distress.

At this eventful period, the little army under the Earl of Moira arrived at Ostend; and his Lordship, having got intelligence of the perilous situation of His Royal Highness's forces, soon found it necessary to call a council of war, in which it was considered, that it would tend more to the ultimate safety of the British army to proceed immediately to its relief, than to risk the chance of a siege, which the French would certainly undertake; and in which even the bravest and most protracted defence of the garrison, whilst the French were pressing on the Duke with such an imposing force, would not tend in the slightest degree to make a diversion in his favour.

This conduct of Lord Moira, however prudent and justified by the circumstances of the case, appears to have been very different from the original intention of his expedition to this place; for in a vindication of his conduct in MSS. which was handed about amongst the superior officers, it was stated that the orders under which he embarked pointed out the restricted object of defending Ostend; and also that he had told the ministry that any orders for his serving in Flanders must occasion his immediate resignation. The day after his landing, however,
he

possession. Accused of having corresponded with the enemy, they were instantly hurried to the *fatal cart*, conveyed to Lisle, and never did the merciless blade of the guillotine descend upon more lovely and innocent victims.

Evacuation of Ostend.

he heard so much of the state of the country, that he thought he could not honestly confine his attention to the precise point of service confided to him.

In consequence of his new adopted plan, he first made a proposal to Generals Clairfayt and Walmoden to unite their forces, and act from Bruges to Thieltdt, upon the left wing of the French.

From General Clairfayt he soon after received a declaration that on account of Prince Cobourg's defeat, he could not fulfil any engagement with him, and that he expected to evacuate Ghent in a few hours.

A careful consideration of all these circumstances induced his Lordship to resolve on the plan of marching with his force of 10,000 men to join the main army, by the route of Ecloo and Ghent; but still it was thought prudent to evacuate Ostend, as its further possession was no longer of importance to the general cause. Accordingly he ordered that the troops forming the garrison should be immediately embarked; which was done with such promptitude and judgment, that in the short space of one day (July the 1st 1794,) the whole garrison with their baggage and all military stores were safe on board the transports. Owing to the exertions of Lieutenant (now Sir Home) Popham, then agent for transports, all the ships were got clear of the harbour, notwithstanding the enemy's fire, except an old Indiaman, the Glatton, and a prison ship; but as the wind freshened, and blew strong into the harbour, it became impossible to move them.

Intelligence of an event so important could not fail of being sent to the French, by their friends in the town, which induced them to make such a rapid march, as to have their advance guards close to the walls in the evening of that day; so that indeed a party of them marched in even whilst the last division of the British troops were embarking, and immediately turned the cannon of the different forts upon

upon the boats and transports; from all which it is evident, that nothing but the promptitude of decision on the part of Lord Moira, the extreme activity of Colonel Vyse, to whom the conduct of the business was entrusted, and the cordial co-operation of all the other principal officers, could have saved that remnant of the British force, consisting of the 8th, 33d, and 44th regiments, which were to land in Zealand, and thence proceed to join the main body.

It might fairly have been supposed that the advantages resulting from the occupation of Ostend, by a British garrison, might have had some effect on the self-interested minds of its inhabitants; yet so infatuated were they with French politics, or so ignorant of French rapacity, that the advanced troops on entering the place were received with the loudest acclamations, and with open arms; which generous reception the French commanding officer immediately repaid by a new system of organization according to the most approved and most practised rules of French fraternity.

On taking possession taxes, to the amount of two millions, were levied, and all the warehouses put in requisition. Indeed every other town and village shared the same fate; and Lisle and Dunkirk being fixed on as the depots of plunder, every young man from 15 to 30 was obliged to work on the canal from Nieuport in order to facilitate the transport of the goods and of the harvest. No alternative was allowed; submission or the guillotine excepted.

The Earl of Moira himself and his small force had now to proceed by land to the British head-quarters in the face of a superior enemy; he had taken care however, with the most admirable degree of military precision, to secure a communication, and to ensure his junction with that part of the allied army under General Clairfayt; and the rapidity of the march fortunately exposed nothing to chance, though the French general had orders to strike at the corps at

all events, and had taken every preliminary measure for that purpose.

Though the evacuation did not take place until the 1st of July, yet Lord Moira had pushed on so fast with the main body of his little force, that, on the 29th of June, he had arrived at Malle only four miles from Bruges on the way to Ghent.

On this route he received a letter from the Duke of York, (which had come round by Sluys in consequence of great part of the country being in possession of the enemy,) desiring him to embark his whole army, and to join him at Antwerp: but the proceedings were too far advanced to execute this order. Soon after he received another pressing order to march by Sluys and Sas de Gand, the Bruges road appearing impracticable to His Royal Highness, and thus to join the British army more rapidly than the passage by sea would allow. Feeling himself completely now justified in his course of proceedings, this prudent and indefatigable officer had after a most tedious and difficult march; and, encountering continual obstacles, reached the town of Alost; but such had been the previous sufferings of his troops, that from their leaving Ostend until their gaining that position, they were without baggage or tents, and exposed through all their route to the inclemency of a wet and unhealthy season.

Presuming on the fatigue they had endured, and trusting to their consequent weariness, the French attacked them on the 6th of July; of which the commander-in-chief's account stated:

"Since writing my last letter, I received a report from Lord Moira, that on the morning of the 6th the enemy made an attack upon the outposts at Alost. The picquets being driven in, they penetrated into the town; but, upon his Lordship advancing with a reinforcement, the enemy retreated in confusion."

Lord Moira speaks highly of the conduct and spirit of the officers and men who were engaged upon this occasion;

Admirable presence of mind.

occasion ; and particularly of Lieutenant Colonels Doyle and Vandeleur, who were both wounded."

The occurrences, however, which took place upon this occasion, deserve more particular notice as illustrative of the advantages resulting from presence of mind on trying occasions. General, then Colonel Doyle, having accompanied his Lordship with his new raised corps, the 87th, or Prince of Wales's Irish regiment, he was ordered, during the march, to take post with his battalion at this village, to cover the movements of the army, as this was supposed the most likely route by which the enemy would attempt an opposition. The judgment which directed the movement was correct ; for the Colonel had scarcely taken possession of the place, when he was obliged to defend himself against an immediate attack. He had scarcely time to occupy the houses commanding the principal street with the main body of his corps, and was himself just returned from posting his picquets, when a squadron of British dragoons, who had been advanced in front, came back on a full gallop, pursued by a large body of the enemy's hussars, who had even mixed with them and entered the town. Colonel Doyle was in the street, and still on horseback, but attended only by his two orderly dragoons, (one of whom was killed by his side,) and had scarcely time to caution his young troops against firing, lest they should, in the confusion, kill the British dragoons as well as the enemy ; and so much was he taken up with this duty that two of the enemy's hussars advanced to attack him unnoticed. One of these gave him a severe cut on the head ; and, when he was in the very act of turning to defend himself, he received another wound in the arm from the second hussar. The period, nay the moment, was critical ; nor could he have escaped with his life, had not his grenadier company, with a well timed precision, commenced a fire from the flanks upon a part of the hussars, who being thus thrown into confusion the whole gave way,

and retired, leaving a great number of killed and wounded behind them.

But the danger of the Colonel was not over; for although his immediate assailants had desisted from their attack, yet in the confusion a part of the enemy had pushed past him, and then occupied the narrow and only passage by which he could rejoin the body of his troops. Finding retreat impossible, and safety very precarious, he, with great presence of mind, adopted the sudden resolution of going off in the same direction with the flying enemy, trusting to a more favourable opportunity of extricating himself. It is supposed that his being wounded may have given him in some measure the appearance of a prisoner; and not being known as the commanding officer of the detachment, he was permitted in the confusion to accompany them unmolested, for a short distance; when passing by several parties, more intent on their own safety than on securing him, he dashed down a cross road, and got back to his regiment and command.*

Though

* Another instance of his gallantry in early life is equally deserving of notice, and was indeed the first cause of his promotion and subsequent patronage. Whilst a Lieutenant of light infantry in the fortieth regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Grant, whose paternal care of the younger part of the officers of his corps is said to have made him be considered by them as a father, he also filled the office of adjutant. At the battle of Brooklin in America on the 27th of August, 1776, Colonel Grant being desperately wounded early in the day, and the action becoming extremely hot, in the very spot where he lay, young Doyle, fearful that his estimable and gallant friend might be trampled to death, rushed in with a few brave followers, to the very midst of the enemy, and dragged the body of his commander from amongst their feet; but it was only his body, for his soul had, in the conflict, departed for a better world. This generous act of self-devotion, and of almost filial piety, not only gained the applause of all who witnessed it, but produced a very handsome and energetic compliment from the commander-in-chief, and laid the basis of his future advancement. It is impossible to quit this subject without noticing that it is to General Doyle that a great proportion of our regular army (the regiments

on

Gallantry of a private soldier.

Though the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Wellesley was not mentioned particularly in this affair, we have

on the Irish establishment) are indebted for their present comfortable subsistence, when worn out veterans; for although in the sister country there was an institution, something similar to that of Chelsea, yet it was on so confined a scale, both with respect to the numbers provided for, and to the amount of their stipend, that few could hope for relief; nor was that relief adequate to the end proposed. To General Doyle, then member of Parliament for Mullingar in 1782, it was left to bring forward a measure of such great importance as the improvement of this national desideratum; and to his eloquence may it be said that the improvement was owing. Unused to the technical modes of Parliamentary business, he might have failed; but his eloquence was irresistible. His speeches on the different stages of the business were masterpieces of simple, yet expressive oratory; and his anecdotes were so well timed as not only to awaken all the finer feelings, but to produce conviction in the minds of his auditory. In recapitulating various anecdotes of the gallantry of the common Irish soldiery, he related one which we transcribe verbatim from his own words on the occasion. "Another brilliant example of tried fidelity flashes upon my mind: when Lord Rawdon was in South Carolina, he had to send an express of great importance through a country filled with the enemy: a corporal of the 17th dragoons, of known courage and intelligence, was selected to escort it. They had not proceeded far until they were fired upon, the express killed, and the corporal wounded in the side. Careless of his wound, he thought but of his duty: he snatched the dispatch from the dying man, and rode on till from the loss of blood he fell; when, fearing the dispatch would be taken by the enemy, he thrust it into the wound until it closed upon it. He was found next day by a British patrol, with a benignant smile of conscious virtue on his countenance, with life sufficiently remaining to point to the fatal depository of his secret. In searching the wound was found the cause of his death; for the surgeon declared that it was not in itself mortal, but rendered so by the insertion of the paper.

Thus fell the patriot soldier—
Cut off from glory's race,
Which never mortal was more fond to run;
Unheard he fell!

In rank a corporal, he was in mind a hero. His name O'Lavery; his country, Ireland; *Doren* was his county, and the parish *Moirá*, in which a chaste monument records at once *his* fame, and the gratitude of his illustrious commander and countryman Lord Rawdon. While memory holds her seat, thy deed, O generous victim! shall be present

have been given to understand that he (although his own regiment was embarked) had accompanied the army on their march, and commanded a covering party in the rear, on which service he was highly instrumental in the repulse of the French army upon this occasion.

Two days after this action, on the 8th of July, Lord Moira effected a junction with the Duke of York. They posted their united forces along the canal between Brussels and Antwerp; but here they were not permitted to remain.

Previous to this, in consequence of General Clairfayt's retreat to Ghent, General Count Walmoden had been obliged to fall back with the Hanoverians, upon the right flank of the Austrians, by which means Bruges had been abandoned as early as the 26th of June: on which the municipality of that place sent deputies to the French army, with an invitation to them to *visit the town*, and assuring them of a most cordial reception, accompanied with many high compliments on their *known* good faith and generosity.

The French with great politeness accepted of this invitation, but were obliged to apologize for postponing the visit, in consequence of the expected advance of the British: but, afterwards advancing, taxed them to the amount of four millions of livres.

The fall of Oudenarde being followed by that of Ghent, on the 5th of July, the republican forces, by the possession of this very considerable city, were enabled to form an important station, and thus to support

sent to my mind: I would not for worlds have lost thy name. How would it have lived in Greek or Roman story! nor the Spartan hero of Thermopylæ, nor the Roman Curtius, have in self devotion gone beyond thee! Leonidas fought in the presence of a grateful country; thou wert in a strange land unseen. Curtius had all Rome for his spectators; the corporal was alone in a desert! He adopted the sentiment without knowing the language, and chose for his epitaph,

Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori."

Attack at Mechlin.

support a numerous force, sufficient to keep the allied army in a constant state of alarm.* The position of the British troops under His Royal Highness was no longer tenable ; therefore, under the circumstances of the case, he judged it most prudent to evacuate his post, and to approach towards Antwerp, in order to shorten the distance, and thereby facilitate the junction between his army and that advancing to his relief under Lord Moira.

The French attacked them in great strength on the 12th of this month ; and they were compelled to take shelter before Mechlin, closely pressed by their assailants : from the post of annoyance, however, which they had possessed themselves of, *they* were, in their turn, driven by a reinforcement brought up by Lord Moira, and obliged to fall back on their main body with great loss. This little enterprize kept the enemy in check for three days ; but they a second time attacked the posts in front of Mechlin, on the side towards the canal, near which the British troops occupied the dyke, from whence they were not dislodged until after a very obstinate resistance. The French, however, were too numerous for the retention of the post ; accordingly no measures were taken to regain it ; and the British, after retiring to Mechlin, finding it untenable, evacuated it immediately. Antwerp was now their last resource ; and though the Duke was convinced that it was not possible to retain it even for any length of time, from the commanding force which the French possessed enabling them

* Ghent was taxed to the amount of seven millions of livres by the Republican army on taking possession. The convent of Nobles in one million ; that of Bodeloo in eight hundred thousand ; and the mercantile houses in proportion ; where no specie was to be had the goods were seized upon. All carriages were considered in a state of requisition ; and the owners ordered, under pain of death, to send them to the abbey of St. Pierre, which was converted into a repository. Bruges was taxed to the amount of four millions, of which the clergy were to pay two, the noblesse one, and the citizens, living upon their income, another.

them to surround it on every side ; yet he still resolved, with great propriety, to remain there for some time, in order to cover the military operations of the Dutch on their own frontier, and to give them every opportunity of putting their various works into the best condition for a vigorous defence. At this period the Earl of Moira resigned his command, and returned to England.

After the 4th of August, Lord Moira's army was incorporated with the Duke's,* and the whole of the infantry brigaded afresh. The 33d had been one of the regiments intended to have been under the command of Lord Cornwallis ; but they were now detained in Holland from the circumstances of the case.

During the progress of the retreat, the French having passed the morass at Piel, deemed an insuperable barrier between the contending powers, a sudden attack was made upon all the posts on the right of the British army on the 14th of September, when that of Boxtel, the most advanced, was forced, with a loss of 1500 of the troops of Hesse Darmstadt, who were completely surrounded and cut off. The possession of Boxtel by the enemy rendering the whole line of posts untenable, as it completely commanded the river Dommel, which runs immediately into the town by Fort Isabella, the Commander-in-Chief thought it absolutely necessary to retake it, and for that purpose detached the reserve, composed of the brigade of guards, and 12th, 33d, 42d, and 44th regiments of the line, with cavalry and artillery. At day break on the 15th, General

* The following narrow escape of the Duke of York has hitherto passed unnoticed. As he was crossing a small river, by means of a plank, a soldier suddenly rushed by him, and reached the opposite bank. The Duke stopped, struck with indignation at the soldier's rudeness ; but his indignation was changed into gratitude, when he saw the man's head taken off by a cannon ball as soon as he had left the plank.

neral Abercrombie having reconnoitered found the enemy so strongly posted, that he did not venture to risque the attack without positive orders ; and, upon sending back to His Royal Highness for instructions, he was desired to persist in the attack, but not to proceed further than he thought prudent.

In front, and inclining to the left of Abercrombie's corps, which had advanced through Schyndel, was a plain, skirted by a thick plantation of firs, in which the French had constructed several masked batteries. The Coldstream regiment had been left on picquet at Erp, a village on the river Aa, between Bois le Duc and Helmont. The cavalry, 1st and 3d guards, with the 33d and 44th regiments of the line, pushed on toward the point of attack, the 12th and 42d remaining in reserve on and near Schyndel. Some French Hussars shewed themselves boldly on the level ground, as a lure to the British cavalry ; and, retreating before them, dispersed when they had drawn our unwary squadrons within reach of their batteries, which immediately opening upon them, they sustained some loss before they could possibly fall back. General Abercrombie having little doubt, by this time, of the proximity of the French grand army, and conceiving he had obeyed his orders to the fullest extent, by advancing as far as prudence would justify, determined to recal his troops, and to retreat within the British lines of encampment. About one hundred were killed and wounded during the affair ; and although the British retired in very good order, yet the narrowness of the road had caused a regiment of Irish light dragoons to throw the 1st guards into some confusion. Taking advantage of this delay, the enemy's squadrons advanced in full force ; but fortunately the *thirty-third* were formed in the rear, when their gallant leader with great judgment and promptitude caused them to open, and permit the dragoons to pass through, when instantly wheeling up into line they threw in a few cool and well

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directed volleys into the thickest of the assailants, which obliged them to retreat with precipitation, and thereby enabled General Abercrombie to complete his retreat without further molestation.

The army having fallen back on the Maes about the 17th of September, the French videttes were advanced in many places to the opposite side of the river, and frequently conversed with the British soldiers on picquet, expressing great respect for their national character, and assuring them that Pichegru's* army had received with universal disgust the infamous decree of the Convention, to grant their brave enemies

* The arrogance of this upstart General may be drawn from the following laconic epistle which he transmitted to the Prince of Cobourg, on his first taking the field:

“ General,

“ I summon you, in the name of the French Republic, to give up immediately Le Quesnoi, Condé, and Valenciennes, or be assured I shall attack and vanquish you.

“ PICHEGRU.”

Notwithstanding this specimen of French bravado, it must be acknowledged that Pichegru was the most moderate of all the French Republican chiefs, and is quite free from all charges of private plunder and peculation, a circumstance authenticated by a very singular fact, in that period of rapacity. His parents were very poor and obscure people, at Arbois, in Franche Comté, where he was born in 1761; and he having begun his first studies at a small college here, continued and improved them at the convent of monks of the order of Minims; so much so, indeed, that these reverend fathers persuaded and encouraged him to teach philosophy and mathematics in a college of their order at Brienne. He was unwilling, however, to enter on his novitiate, or to take up the cowl; but enlisted in the artillery, and served in America, where he laid the foundation of those Republican principles which afterwards brought him to act so great a part on the military theatre of Europe. 'Twould far exceed our limits to notice the infamous conduct of that party in France which succeeded at length in depriving him of his command; it is sufficient to say that he returned to his native place *nearly* as poor as when he left it; for all his property were his horses and camp equipage, and *these* he sold to divide with two of his poorest relatives, who were not afraid to afford him shelter, and with the remaining five brethren of his old friends the Minims, all that remained, the rest having either perished in prisons, or on revolutionary scaffolds.

enemies no quarter. They would frequently continue those conversations for hours, with all the garrulity peculiar to their country, always closing their remarks with "Englishmen, go home—you have no business here—you are too honest to be leagued with the Austrians and Prussians. They will soon leave you in the lurch." These conversations usually concluded with the one party striking up "God save the King," and the other, "Car Ira," or the *Carmagnol*.

The great project now in agitation among the French was the attempt upon Holland. This, however contrary to the usual mode, was intended for a winter campaign; for that season was approaching, and its expected severity held out to them a prospect of being able to pass the various rivers and canals as soon as they should be frozen over.

This determination had taken place after a smart action at Creve Cœur, which had enabled them to advance toward Bois le Duc, at which time the British army was posted at Grave, which His Royal Highness thought too near the presence of a superior force; accordingly, about the beginning of October, when they had taken that place, he found himself compelled to retire.

The States Generals were so short sighted in their policy, as to imagine they could negotiate a separate peace with France, whilst she was buoyed up by present success, and stimulated by her wants to future rapacity. The Dutch, indeed, seemed regardless of every former treaty, and unmindful of every obligation which they owed to Great Britain, one of whose objects, in entering upon this expensive war, was *their* protection, and the security of the advantages *they* derived from a free navigation of the Scheldt. Dutch ambassadors were even sent to beseech the ruling faction at Paris to grant them such terms as their *known* good faith and generosity would

dictate; but the unfortunate and misguided Hollanders were first cajoled, next plundered, and then laughed at.

About this period, from the advance of the enemy, the Dutch *Patriots* also dared openly to avow their principles. Indeed the Stadtholder's party was decreasing daily; and, the greatest dissensions prevailing in the different cities of the United Provinces, the pernicious effects were much felt by our army. The retreat too was hastened, by the precautionary measures of destroying the dykes not being sufficiently attended to. Some of them, indeed, had been pierced through, and round Bois le Duc the inundations had succeeded tolerably well; but on the capture of Creve Cœur, which, though only a small fortress, standing on the Maes, between Bois le Duc and Bommel,* commanded the sluices of the former town. The French were thereby enabled to draw off the water, to bid defiance to the inundations, and to form the siege of that place. But the bombardment was scarcely

* It is a curious military fact, and interesting in a work of this nature, that Bommel may be called the *birth-place* of the modern system of fortification. It is a small town on the banks of the Waal: at the ends of the two principal streets are gates; that towards the water, between very ancient walls, but on the land side more modern and stronger, with drawbridges over a wide fosse that nearly surrounds the town.

On the other side of this ditch are high and broad embankments, well planted with trees, and so suitable to be used as public walks that they have generally been supposed to have been raised partly for that purpose, and partly as defences to the place against inundations. They are, however, greater curiosities, having been thrown up by Prince Maurice, in 1599, principally because he considered his garrison as too numerous for the old works, and thereby enabled him to extend his line of defence. Between these entrenchments are made what is thought to have been the first attempt at a "covert way," now forming such a principal part of the modern system of defence. At that period Bommel stood a siege of five weeks, in which the Spanish General, Mendoza, lost two thousand men. In fact, Bommel was a place of the last importance to the Dutch, in their struggle with Philip of Spain for their liberty at this period—but now, alas! how fallen from the gallant simplicity of their ancestors.

Dutch hospitality.

scarcely begun, when the gates of the town were thrown open, and the governor, who was generally considered as being highly bribed, surrendered on the 9th of October. Unfortunately, by this dastardly proceeding, upwards of 400 helpless emigrants fell into the hands of the remorseless Republicans. They had, indeed, endeavoured to escape in various disguises; but most of them were discovered, and others betrayed, and all who were taken were most inhumanly butchered, *en masse*, at the head of the Republican army.

When the vanguard of the British army had crossed the Waal, on the 6th of October, and were approaching the villages marked out for their cantonments, a drummer entered a Dutchman's house upon the side of the dyke, to purchase some apples, exposed, as he imagined, for sale. The fellow, supposing the lad's intention was to steal them, aimed a pistol at his breast; and, pulling the trigger, wounded him severely. The flank battalion of guards marching by at the moment, a serjeant darted toward the house in order to secure the offender; but, finding the doors closely barricaded, he found his way through a window, and was proceeding up the staircase, when the Dutchman sprung from a dark corner, and stabbed him to the heart. The house was instantly surrounded and set on fire by the enraged soldiers; one man escaped along the thatch enveloped in the smoke; but the rascal who had killed the serjeant was discovered, and immediately hung upon the nearest tree as an example to others. These occurrences were but trifles, however, to subsequent atrocities inflicted upon the sick and helpless of the British army.

While the British army was lying behind the Meuse, on the 19th of October in the morning, the enemy, to the amount of 30,000 men, as afterwards stated by the prisoners, attacked the whole of the advanced posts of the right wing, particularly that of Drutin, which was defended by the 37th regiment, and that
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of Apelttern, where the Prince of Rohan's light battalion was posted. In this affair, which happened immediately under the eye of the Commander-in-Chief, the gallantry of the whole British line was most conspicuous; the odds, however, were too great; and at last the post on the left of the 37th, which was occupied by a detachment of Rohan's hussars, was forced. Major Hope, who commanded the 37th, and who on this occasion distinguished himself extremely, was obliged to retreat upon the dyke along the Waal, which he continued for sometime without being much annoyed by the enemy. Unfortunately, however, a strong body of the enemy's hussars being mistaken for the corps of Rohan, the regiment allowed them to come upon them unmolested, when the hussars immediately attacked, and the narrowness of the dyke, which on every other occasion must have afforded a security to the infantry, in this instance acted against them, as they were driven off by the enemy's charge, and suffered severely.

In addition to this attacking force, the Commander-in-Chief having received intelligence that another considerable body had passed the Meuse, near Ruremond, and were advancing upon the left flank, having already taken possession of Cleves, he judged it imprudent to risk a general action in this position, which was kept only in order to preserve a communication with Grave; and therefore determined to pass the Waal, and to take up the different cantonments already appointed for the defence of that river.

Repeated invitations from the principal towns were sent to the French, in addition to the state negotiations; and an occurrence which took place strongly marks how much the love of gold, even in important affairs, is implanted in their disposition. A burgher, one of the principal disaffected patriots, was fortunately discovered attempting to cross the Waal, with an address in his possession, signed by upwards of 3000 of the principal inhabitants of Amsterdam, engaging to do

Gallant attack at Tuyl.

all in their power to put that place in Picbegrü's hands. This daring adventurer, thus endeavouring to pass through the very centre of the allied army, was apprehended by an Hanoverian officer, whilst bargaining with a skipper for a passage across the river, who demanded forty ducats for the job; but the patriotic ambassador, whilst chaffering in order to save twenty, lost the opportunity of speedily embarking at the critical moment, and paid for his œconomy with his life.

On the 2d of December, His Royal Highness the Duke of York being recalled, the command of the allied armies devolved upon the Hanoverian General Walmoden: and on the 30th of December 1794, the head-quarters being then at Arnheim, an attack was meditated on the enemy; for which purpose a corps was formed of ten battalions of British infantry, of which the 33d was one, under Major-General Lord Cathcart, Major-General Gordon, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mac Kensie; six squadrons of light cavalry, and one hundred and fifty hussars, under Major-General Sir Robert Lawrie; the Loyal emigrant corps, and four battalions and four squadrons of Hessians, under Major-General de Wurmb: the whole being commanded by Major-General David Dundas.

This respectable force was divided into three columns. The left column to attack by the dyke: the centre to attack in such a manner as to keep the church of Wardenburg upon its left wing; and the right column, consisting of four British battalions, and the Rohan hussars, to keep their left wing *appuyé* to the Vliet, to turn Tuyl, and to attack it in the rear.

Lord Cathcart found the road by which his column was to march so impracticable, that, being obliged to make a great detour, he could not come up in time; and General Dundas finding, at his arrival near Werdenberg, that the enemy had abandoned it during the night, he thought it advisable to
push

push on with the other two columns, and to begin the attack immediately upon Tuyl.

This attack was executed with such gallantry and spirit by the troops, that, notwithstanding the natural strength of this post, the abattis of fruit-trees, that the enemy had constructed, the batteries of the town of Bommel, which flanked the approach, and the immense number of the defenders, yet it was soon carried, and the enemy driven across the river, (then every where passable on the ice,) with a considerable loss. Four pieces of cannon also were taken; and the whole detachment received the highest praise, not only for their spirited conduct in the execution of the enterprize, but also for the patience and perseverance with which they encountered the immense fatigues and hardships, considerably enhanced by the cold and severity of the season.

The success of the whole was so far complete as thus to oblige the invaders to recross the Waal.

Grave surrendered between the 1st and 4th of January; General Bons defended the post till his last shot was expended. During the siege it was said that 3070 shells were thrown into the place, rendering it nearly a heap of ashes. The fortifications were not, however, much damaged; but the garrison were constrained to capitulate, having neither ammunition nor provisions left.

During the long and close siege of this town, the most spirited defence was made by its garrison; and the Governor, General Bons, seemed determined to fulfil the noble answer he gave when summoned to surrender the place,—“ I am an *old* soldier and wish for nothing more than to die worthy the glorious appellation of having lived a *brave* one. I hope to be buried under the ruins of this fortress, or to conquer.—Be assured I shall defend it as long as I have powder sufficient to send a ball against the enemies of mankind, and in so doing I shall serve my God and my fellow creatures.”

Notwith-

Affair at Metteren.

Notwithstanding the advantages gained on the 31st of December, yet, as the frost was still increasing, it was judged expedient, that General Dundas's corps should fall back upon Lingen, leaving outposts upon the Waal; a movement which was executed on the night of the 3d of January.

The severity of the weather still increasing, the enemy were induced, on the 4th, to recross the Waal near Bommel. The advanced posts of the allies were immediately driven in, and Tuyl fell into the hands of the assailants. General Dundas, notwithstanding, still thought that he should be able to defend Metteren, and thus to check the further progress of the enemy; but the advanced posts of the Hessians, nearest to his post, having been obliged also to fall back, the Commander-in-Chief, in concert with the other principal officers, thought it prudent to send others to him, and also to General Dalwick, to unite their detachments immediately, and at day break of the 5th, to make a vigorous attack upon the enemy, to drive them across the Waal.

But about two in the afternoon of the 4th, the French attacked the post at Metteren about a mile in front, where part of the 33d regiment, with a picquet of eighty cavalry, and two carriage guns, were posted; their superior number, and their disposition to surround this brave little detachment, soon made it necessary to fall back on the other part of the regiment, which was supported with two howitzers. In this difficult movement, they were very hardly pressed by a large body of the enemy's hussars, that galloped along the road with great vivacity.

The troops having beforehand been in an alert situation, the village of Geldermalsen was soon covered by the 42d and 78th; when the whole of the 33d took its place in the line of defence, and the other troops were in reserve on the opposite dyke of the Lingen, that river being completely frozen, and every where passable.

In the early part of this affair, Colonel Wellesley, and his little band, must have displayed great activity; but the charge of the superior body of the enemy was so impetuous, both on the cavalry and infantry, that at first they had the advantage, and, it is even said, had taken the two curricule guns; but the reserve of the 33d coming up, the guns were retaken, and the enemy repulsed, so as to allow of the gallant few falling back with regularity on the main body.

The enemy still persevering in their attack, and being now reinforced, advanced on the village of Geldermalsen, both in front and flank; but after a great deal of musquetry firing, for about an hour, were every where repulsed by the steadiness of the troops, and forced to retire.

The violence of the frost having now converted the whole country into a kind of plain, which thereby afforded the greatest facilities, to the French army, in all their movements, General Dundas thought it necessary to fall back during the night upon Beuren, where General Dalwick was already stationed.

This circumstance, and the excessive fatigue which the troops had undergone in those operations, at a season of the year, and in situations, in which they were often obliged, from want of cantonments, to pass the night without cover, determined the Commander-in-Chief to take up a position behind the Leck, extending from Cuylenberg to Wageningen.

Another reason for this movement, was a march made by a considerable column of the enemy, attended by a large train of artillery towards Gorcum; whilst their attack upon the right, combined with an attempt upon Thiel, evidently indicated a regular plan of operations, even during the severity of the weather.

In the mean time a partial change took place in the movements of the British; for a very considerable and sudden thaw having come on upon the 6th, which offered a prospect of still preserving the position upon
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the Waal, it was judged proper that the troops which had not yet crossed the Leck should remain in the cantonments they then occupied, and that the rest should again move forward.

On this occasion Lieutenant-General Abercromby and Major-General Hammerstein, with the greatest part of their corps, and some Austrian battalions, were to have begun their march upon Thiel, and towards Bommel upon the 7th; and General Dundas's corps received orders, in consequence, to occupy Bueren, and the heights near it, on the 8th, in order that they might co-operate with the former detachments.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, it was extremely changeable; and it had happened very unfortunately that the frost set in again most unexpectedly; but as the troops were already put in motion, and counter-orders might have prevented a combination, from the extent of the line, General Dundas having assembled his corps, with a zeal and exertion both on his part and that of the different commanding officers, which drew forth the highest praise from the Commander-in-Chief, he proceeded towards Bueren on the morning of the 8th, having detached in advance two battalions, who were afterwards to have marched upon Thiel, to co-operate in the attack upon that place. On their arrival at Bueren, they found all the British posts upon the Lingen driven in, and the enemy in force near Bueren; but as soon as more troops came up, Lord Cathcart was sent forward in advance, and soon drove back the enemy with great loss beyond Geldermalsen.

The retreat of the British army was still, however, absolutely necessary; but under circumstances of the most horrible suffering, which cannot be related better than in the words of an eye witness:

“On the 16th of January, we marched at the appointed hour; and, after a very laborious journey, about three o'clock in the afternoon reached the verge of an immense desert, called the Welaw, when instead

of having a resting place for the night, as we expected, we were informed that we had fifteen miles further to go. Upon this information many began to be very much dejected, and not without reason ; for several of us, besides suffering the severity of the weather, and fatigue of the march, had neither eat nor drank any thing, except water, that day.

For the first three or four miles such a dismal prospect appeared as none of us was ever witness to before ; a bare sandy desert, with a tuft of withered grass, or solitary shrub, here and there. The wind was excessively high, and drifted the snow and sand together so strongly, that we could hardly wrestle against it : to which was added a severity of cold almost insufferable. The frost was so intense, that the water which came from our eyes, freezing as it fell, hung in icicles to our eye-lashes ; and our breath, freezing as soon as emitted, lodged in heaps of ice about our faces, and on the blankets or coats, that were wrapped round our heads.

Night approaching fast, a great number, both men and women, began to linger behind, their spirits being quite exhausted, and without hope of reaching their destination ; and if they once lost sight of the column of march, though but a few moments, it being dark, and no track to follow, there was no chance of finding it again. In this state numbers were induced to sit down, or creep under the shelter of bushes, where, weary, spiritless, and without hope, a few moments consigned them to sleep ; but, alas ! whoever slept waked no more, their blood instantly congealed in their veins, the spring of life soon dried up ; and if ever they opened their eyes, it was only to be sensible of the last moments of their miserable existence.

Others, sensible of the danger of sitting down, but having lost the column, wandered up and down the pathless waste, surrounded with darkness and despair ; no sound to comfort their ears, but the bleak whistling wind ; no sight to bless their eyes but the
wide

wide trackless waste, and 'shapeless drift;' far from human help, far from pity, down they sunk, to rise no more !*

The sufferings of the British army, at this period, were indeed great in the extreme ; but the public indignation, though just in its censure, was unfortunately thrown upon those who least deserved it. An extract from the report of an eye-witness will, however, do justice to the Commander-in-Chief, and give reason for great praise to those whose indefatigable care and attention have tended much to render the situation of the British soldier comparatively comfortable, even under circumstances of the greatest privation. This accurate writer observes that the British hospitals, which had been so lately crowded, were then much thinned. Removing the sick in waggons without sufficient clothing to keep them warm, in that rigorous season, had indeed sent some hundreds to their graves : whilst the shameful neglect that then pervaded all the medical departments had rendered the hospitals nothing better than slaughter houses.

Without covering, without attendance, and even without clean straw, and sufficient shelter from the weather, they were thrown, he asserts, together in heaps, unpitied and unprotected, to perish by contagion,

* Dreadful as this scene was in the evening of the 16th, the contemplation of it the next morning was more horrible. An officer of the guards, who passed over the plain, relates that one scene made an impression upon his memory, which time can never efface. Near a cart, which lay on the common, he discovered a stout looking man, and a beautiful young woman with an infant about seven months old, at her breast ; all three frozen and dead. The mother had most certainly expired in the act of suckling her child ; as, with one breast exposed, she lay upon the drifted snow, the milk, to all appearance in a stream, drawn from the nipple by the babe, was instantly congealed. The infant seemed as if its lips had but just then been disengaged, and it reposed its little head upon the mother's bosom, with an overflow of milk frozen as it trickled from the mouth ; their countenances were perfectly composed and fresh, resembling those of persons in a sound and tranquil slumber.

gion, whilst legions of vultures, down to the stewards, nurses, and their numberless dependants, pampered their bodies, and filled their pockets with the nation's treasure—the picture is too horrible to finish—but, he adds, “His Royal Highness has at all times paid great attention to the sick of his army; and directions have been given, and regulations made, as circumstances required, tending to promote their comfort, and restore their health, besides a number of standing orders, which, if strictly attended to, would, in many cases, have removed the evils complained of.” It is added, that the magnanimity, humanity, and sincere regard to the interest and honour of his country, with which the Duke of York discharged the duties of his important office, were too well known not to be universally acknowledged. Had he been apprised of the delinquencies and the frequent inhumanity here noted, he would not have suffered their continuance.

It was, indeed, after His Highness had left Holland, that these cruel neglects and peculations were most apparent and flagrant.

Though the sufferings which Colonel Wellesley must now have endured were great in the extreme, in common with the whole army, yet these were to him a school of experience; and he has ever since directed his best attentions to the comfort of his troops, whose conduct under the most trying circumstances have always tended to their glory.

At this period the diminished British army had every disadvantage to encounter; for through the activity of the French commanders, and the inhospitable feelings of the Dutch, whose hatred was never concealed when they had fair and safe opportunities of manifesting it, they were totally unable to make any thing like a determined stand. On the 27th of January 1795, they were able to reach Deventer, after one of the most fatiguing and distressing marches which perhaps was ever experienced by a retreating army. Here then they fondly hoped to enjoy some
little

little respite from their sufferings, and from the absolute necessity of the most sedulous attention ; for, notwithstanding all their sufferings, such had been their courage and perseverance, as to enable them in the midst of their arduous trials to convey with safety to this rendezvous all the ammunition and military stores, artillery, and implements of war of all descriptions belonging to the army.

Further than this, however, from the unwillingness of the country people to supply them with cattle and waggons, and from the rapid diminution of their strength, they were unable to convey them, and were therefore obliged to destroy great part to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, whose rapid approach made it necessary to evacuate Deventer on the 29th. The French force in pursuit, nay almost within contact, was estimated at 50,000 men advancing with great rapidity, having all the resources of the country at their beck ; yet notwithstanding this immense superiority, this handful of Britons, in spite of the celerity of their movements, still preserved a steady pace, and such an imposing countenance, that their pursuers were constantly kept in check, and the gallant few preserved their movements firm and steady amongst incessant obstacles, surmounting them all with their accustomed energy.*
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* Many complaints have been made, and undoubtedly much exaggerated, of the want of discipline, and licentious conduct, of the British troops on several occasions in Holland ; but we must recollect that the shameful treatment which they received throughout the whole of Holland, from the patriotic party, was such as they had no right to expect, even in a hostile country, much less that of a friend, whom they had come to save from the fraternization of modern reformers. So strong, indeed, were the prejudices against them, that an eyewitness has declared, that the implacable hatred evinced by the Dutch boors, towards the English, can scarcely be conceived ; extending even beyond, or rather *into*, the grave. They have been known on several occasions to dig up the bodies of British soldiers during the night, to mutilate and deface them with their long knives, which the lower orders

Pleasing change in quarters.

On the 10th of July they were able to cross the Vecht, and two days after to reach the Ems; still pursued by an harassing enemy, who, however, never dared to attack them seriously until the 21th of the month, when a large and superior body of the French army came up with the rear. An action immediately took place; but our little band displayed such firmness that the assailants were totally unable to make any impression upon them, and were obliged to allow them to resume their march, and to pursue it unmolested into the country of Bremen, where the kindness of the German boors formed a most pleasing contrast to the sullen apathy, or more spiteful enmity, of the Dutch. This feeling was well expressed by one of the unhappy sufferers, now a partaker in these comparative pleasures, who observed that it was something like a dream, or fairy vision, and that they could hardly believe their senses, after being buffeted about by fortune, driven like vagabonds, through frost and snow, over all the wilds of Holland, and when in their greatest extremities, or when they asked for any thing to refresh themselves, even with money in their hands, being answered only with a shrug of the shoulders, "*nothing for the Englishmen,*" but then to be seated in the most elegant apartments, servants attending, ready to anticipate every wish,—beds of the softest down to repose on, &c. In fact the hospitable Brementers treated them like their own families, and omitted nothing which could contribute either to their comfort or pleasure.

During the whole of this arduous retreat, Lieutenant-Colonel Wellesley, at the head of three battalions, had covered all the movements; and, even under circumstances of the greatest and most peculiar difficulty, acted

ders always carry about their persons concealed, and to leave them in that state in order that their former comrades might see them in the morning!

acted in such a manner as to excite the applause of all, and to gain the approbation of his superiors.

Before we close this campaign, we feel it a duty, as impartial historians, to meet the clamor and misrepresentation which was so loudly echoed and re-echoed throughout the united empire, respecting its conduct, as far at least as it regards His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief.

It has been said by an English author, that if the *son of a sans culotte* had acted with the same ability as this son of a *king*, and encountered nobly, and often victoriously, so many difficulties from the superior number of his foes, “a thousand voices would have proclaimed his great performances.”—Yet we will not trust to English partiality, but give an extract from a Frenchman, no less than citizen David, a true Sans Culotte himself, and now the imperial portrait painter:—“an imperial historian must not deny that on this occasion, and many others, the defensive operations of the enemy were always of the best disposition. We may even say the same of their retreat. That which the English made at this time demands the highest praise; for they took every precaution necessary; and we may indeed confess that nothing was neglected.”

On the arrival of the troops in England, every expedition was used to prepare them for foreign service, and the 33d being under orders for the West Indies, Lieutenant-Colonel Wellesley embarked in the fleet which under the command of Admiral Christian was intended to proceed to that station: but the heavy equinoctial gales in the autumn of 1795 having repeatedly driven them back, the destination of great part of the forces was altered, and the 33d were ordered to Ireland to recruit, where they remained until the Colonel was once more called to active service.

SECTION II.

Arrival in India—Projected attempt on Manilla—Expected war in the Carnatic—Preliminary observations—Religious customs and manners of the Hindoos—Political state of Society—Tippoo Sultaun's Politics—His negotiations with France—French troops landed at Mangalore—Governor-General's reasons for engaging in the war—Insidious conduct of the Sultaun—Formation of the army for the Mysore—Nizam's Subsidiary Contingent put under the separate command of Colonel Wellesley—Anecdotes of Lieutenant-General Harris—Advance of the army—Skirmishes and attacks of the enemy—Battle of Mallavelli—Advance to Seringapatam—Siege of that important city and fortress—Brilliant attacks conducted by Colonel Wellesley—Affair of the Sultaunpettah—Storm and Surrender—Anecdotes of Forlorn Hope, &c.—Anecdotes of Colonel Dunlop—Tippoo's conduct and fall—Anecdotes of General Sir David Baird—Discovery of Tippoo's body—Anecdotes of Tippoo Sultaun—Anecdotes of the Storm—Changes in the Mysore government—Tippoo's Sons sent prisoners to Vellore, and the rightful Rajah reinstated on the throne of his ancestors—Treasure found in the palace, &c.—Beneficial consequences of the fall of Tippoo—Gratitude of the army to Lord Mornington, and his exemplary self-denial—Gallant and judicious conduct of Colonel Wellesley against Dhoondia Waugh—Battle of Conahguil, &c. &c. &c.

A New Era now arrived in which the splendid abilities of Colonel Wellesley had an opportunity of being brought forward, his brother the Earl of Mornington, (now Marquis of Wellesley,) being appointed to the high and important station of Governor-General of our Oriental empire, whither the Colonel, with his own regiment, accompanied him; and they arrived at Kedgerree at the mouth of the Ganges, on board the *Virginie* frigate, on the 17th of May 1798, when the Governor-General proceeded for Calcutta, went through the usual ceremonies, and took on him the execution of his arduous office.

The Spanish war having then been commenced, an attack on their settlements at the Philippine Islands

lands was determined on, and a large force not only assembled, but partly embarked for that service, in which Colonel Wellesley would have enjoyed an high command; but the intrigues of the French with the native Princes of India obliged the Governor-General to change his plans, on the instant, and reserve his troops for the defence of the British territories.

Notwithstanding the friendly protestations of Tip-poo Sultaun, the experience of the campaigns under the Marquis of Cornwallis had shewn that the loss of the Coimbatoor country and other districts, and even of many of his hill forts in the Mysore, had produced no steady effect on his mind, and he seemed to fear nothing whilst he possessed his capital. The Earl of Mornington therefore determined on decisive measures; and the reduction of Seringapatam was considered as an object of the first consideration.

The important operations, which now took place in *India*, require a few preliminary and illustrative observations. The word is now indeed often used in a more comprehensive sense than formerly; for the ancient empire of India included all those countries through which the primitive religion and laws of *Brachma* extended, reaching thus from the mountains of Thibet and Tartary in the north to the Island of Ceylon, and from the Indus to the Ganges. An extent of country equal to half of Europe, and supporting a population of nearly seventy millions. Its most ancient names denoted its central situation, and its being the land of virtues; whilst its more modern appellation, "*Hindustan*," signifies the *country of black people*: but the Greeks, by the term "*India*," comprehended all the countries between China and Persia, and *we* sometimes apply it to all the islands extending to the coast of New Holland.

The antiquity of the system of religion of this country is very great; its genuine principles inculcate the most sublime notions, though it must be confessed that its rites are debased with idolatry and superstition.

stition. The Brahmins teach that the universe is governed by one supreme and intelligent Ruler, whose divine essence pervades the whole circle of nature, gives motion to the celestial luminaries, and vivifies the animal and vegetable creation. They believe in the immortality of the soul; in future rewards and punishments; but do not suppose that the body will undergo any resurrection; and they agree so far with the opinion of transmigration, as to believe that the souls of the wicked undergo a sort of purgation after death; and that they, and *they* only, are afterwards sent to inhabit the bodies of different animals.

Their ancient customs, still religiously adhered to, have induced a system of social order, very different from that of Europe. Their holy book, the *Vedas*, declares that this division of society was ordained by God, at the creation of the world, and that any violation of its sacred and radical principles would be attended with the greatest misery in this life, and with the most terrible punishment hereafter; a mode of belief which so unites their habits and prejudices with their religion, that it must always operate against their conversion to Christianity. In fact, agreeably to their laws, the Brachmans are ordered to engrave this ordnance on the hearts of the people, and to call forth their reverence for it, by every means in their power that can either engage their interests, or awaken their fears: and so perfect is the conviction of its truth and justice, that there is scarcely an instance of a Hindu degenerating from the religion of his ancestors, except in the very lowest casts or tribes, notwithstanding the repeated attempts of the Catholic missionaries for so many ages.

'Tis true that a great part of society now in India are not all *Gentoos*; but the *Parsees*, or worshippers of the *sacred fire*, are equally bigoted to their own customs and religion; as well as the *Moors*, or Mahometans, whose abhorrence to pork, and other things connected with European customs, will always operate

rate against their amalgamating with Christian society.

If they are unwilling to be converted, they are equally so to convert others; for they are expressly forbidden by their sacred writing, to admit any person to their religious communion who is not born within its pale; notwithstanding which system of exclusion they are at the same time exhorted, in a strain of the most sublime eloquence, to be hospitable and benevolent to strangers, as well as to friends; and to look with reverence upon all forms of worship as acceptable to the Almighty. Yet such is the perversion of the human intellect, when unassisted by divine revelation, that the altars of this humane religion have often been stained with the blood of human victims.

Their social customs respecting property partake much of the ancient feudal system; for all land is the absolute property of the sovereign, from whom it was portioned out into separate allotments, paying a sixth part of the produce for rent. Still the immediate occupiers of the land are considered as holding it in perpetuity.

Though the law in all cases was, and is, superior to the Prince, yet the Hindus had not the most remote idea of political liberty; and those proud feelings and generous sentiments, out of which it grows, never warmed or agitated their cold and tranquil bosoms, until the principles of British liberty were extended to them; but even that has had little more effect than to gratify their spirit of private litigiousness, thereby affording rich harvests to all the retainers of the law.

These laws and customs, morally speaking, always made India an easy prey to successive conquerors; whilst, even in latter days, politically speaking, their system has been equally weak, and their country not easily defensible; for though the northern states of Hindustan formed a political confederacy, and were all influenced more or less by the same religion,

gion, the same laws, and superstitious observances, still they differed in language and manners; and their confederacies were always of short duration.

But the state of politics in India, at the period we now describe, was more serious than usual, as all the efforts of an enterprising European enemy, in addition to Tippoo's wiles and force, were now directed against us.

Tippoo Sultaun, impelled by his rooted enmity to the British nation, had already dispatched two ambassadors, who embarked at Mangalore for the Isle of France, and arrived at that island towards the close of January 1798. These ambassadors were received publicly and formally by the French government, with every circumstance of distinction and respect: and they were entertained at the public expense during their continuance on the island.

Previous, indeed, to the arrival of the ambassadors in that island, no idea, nor even rumour, existed there of any aid to be furnished to Tippoo by the French, or of any prospect of war between that prince and the company; but, within two days after their arrival, a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General stating, that an embassy had arrived with letters from Tippoo Sultaun addressed not only to the government of the Isle of France, but to the Executive Directory at home, proposing to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance, to subsidize whatever troops France might send to his assistance, and to commence against British India a war for which the Sultaun was described as fully prepared; and stating at the same time that he was waiting with anxiety the moment when the assistance of France should enable him to satisfy his ardent desire of expelling the British nation from that country.

Such a proclamation was no doubt very impolitic, as giving full warning to England of what she might expect, and thereby enabling the Company's servants in India to be upon their guard; for the proclamation soon found its way to Calcutta: but as it concluded
by

by offering encouragements to the subjects of France to enter into the service of Tippoo Sultaun, on terms to be fixed with his ambassadors then on the spot, it is likely the government thought a full developement necessary to encourage the plan in view of raising men.

Tippoo Sultaun, therefore, having actually concluded these offensive and defensive engagements with France, then our enemy; having permitted the French troops to land publicly at Mangalore, and having thus collected by their aid a force openly destined to carry those engagements into effect; having also applied to the Directory of France for a more powerful force, destined to the same end; and having also declared that the delay of the meditated blow proceeded from no other cause than his expectation of receiving further aid from the enemy; the Earl of Mornington conceived himself perfectly justified in asserting that the Sultaun had most flagrantly violated the treaties existing between him and the Company, and that he had actually committed an act of direct hostility and aggression against the British government in India.

In addition to this, the Governor-General had received undoubted intelligence that Tippoo had for some time previous been entirely employed in military preparations and perfect conformity with the hostile spirit of his engagements with our inveterate enemy; that the greatest part of his army was in a state of equipment for the field; and that a considerable portion of it was actually encamped under his personal command.

All this, however, was in direct opposition to the communications from Tippoo himself, for he had not then attempted to alledge even the pretext of a grievance on the part of the British government; and even in his letters to Sir John Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, whilst his ambassadors were actually at the Isle of France, nay, dated on the very day on which the French force landed at Mangalore, he declared

clared that " his friendly heart was disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord between the two nations ;" and he concluded with expressing a desire that Sir John would impress Lord Mornington with a sense of the friendship and unanimity so firmly subsisted between the two states. Lord Mornington was fortunately not to be cajoled by these pacific declarations ; but considered the act of Tippoo Sultan's ambassadors, ratified by himself, and followed up by the admission of a French force into his army, as equivalent to a public, unqualified, and unambiguous, declaration of war, he determined on an immediate attack upon his capital, as demanded by the soundest maxims both of justice and policy, and as the best and surest means of frustrating the execution of his unprovoked and unwarrantable projects of ambition and revenge.

The departure of the large force destined for Manila, it was afterwards ascertained, would have proved a signal to the watchful vengeance of Tippoo to invade the Carnatic, even without waiting for the aid of a French force, the assistance of which did not appear necessary to him during the contemplated absence of such a considerable portion of our army.

The whole proposed plan of operation became, therefore, necessarily changed, and the Madras army, under Lieutenant-General Harris, was concentrated at Vellore, in the Carnatic ; but, from the unavoidable delays in providing the necessary equipments for so large a force, it was not in a condition to begin its march before the 11th of February, 1799. The contingent of the Nizam, amounting to about 6000 of the Company's troops, under the command of Colonel Roberts, and subsidized by His Highness, together with the same number of his own native infantry, marched from Hyderabad, under the command of Meer Allum Bahauder, and had arrived at Chittoor, even before General Harris was ready to march from Vellore.

March towards Seringapatam.

In order to give the Nizam's force the utmost respectability, the Commander-in-Chief not only strengthened it with some of the Company's battalions, but appointed the 33d regiment to join it, giving the general command of the British force thus serving to Colonel Wellesley.

This arrangement, which was highly pleasing to Meer Allum, added greatly to the confidence of his troops, and tended much to render them essentially useful.

Colonel Wellesley had thus under his command the whole of the Nizam's detachment, forming the reserve of the army, and comprising his own regiment the 33d, the 11th, part of the 2d and 4th, two battalions of the 1st Bengal regiment, two brigades of artillery, the Nizam's infantry commanded by Captain Malcolm, and the cavalry of the same prince commanded by their own native officer, Meer Allum. Along with these he had a distinct staff; and the cavalry alone amounted to 6000 men: the whole army under General Harris being returned 36,959 fighting men, all well equipped, amply and liberally supplied, excellent in discipline, and never surpassed by any army ever formed in India, in the skill and ability of the officers in all departments.

It must be confessed, indeed, that the expedition was begun under untoward circumstances, for the cumbersome baggage and numerous attendants on the Nizam force, as well as that of the European troops, the immense quantity of public stores and provisions, the long train of ordnance, with above forty thousand Benjarres, formed altogether such an host, as not to admit of being covered by the effective force; so that if Tippoo had employed his powers, with the military skill which he was supposed to possess, he might, without hazarding an engagement, by desultory skirmishes, distant cannonades, and other hostile movements, have so harassed the infantry, and weakened the cavalry, that a great part of the baggage,

gage, stores, and ammunition, would probably have fallen into his hands, and the army have thus been greatly impeded in its march to the place of destination, particularly as the rainy season was then near setting in.

The Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant-General Harris,* having determined to advance to Seringapatam, by the rout of Talgautporam and Cankanelli, the march commenced at day break on the 10th of March 1799. The cavalry were in advance, the baggage on the right, and the detachment under Colonel Wellesley, which had marched by the left, moved parallel at some distance on the right flank of the army.

Even

* Lieutenant-General Harris, afterwards Sir George, (as Knight of the Bath,) was the eldest son of a respectable clergyman of the established church, who dying in early life left a family of two sons and three daughters, in that kind of rather moderate circumstances which would naturally result from a small living, and the necessary expenses of decently educating a large family.

A friend of Mr. Harris took the youth under his patronage; and, trusting to his gallantry and goodness of heart for his rise in life, educated him for the army, into which he entered at the commencement of the American war, and upon all occasions distinguished himself as a very brave and intelligent officer. This cannot, indeed, be doubted when we recollect that during great part of the war he acted under the particular command of the Earl of Moira, then Lord Cawdon; and performed the various services committed to his care, more especially in the Adjutant-General's department, so as to acquire the praise and confidence of that gallant and most respectable nobleman.

Having returned from the American continent, towards the close of the war, with the rank of Major, he soon after went on service to the West Indies, where he acquired additional rank, and an increase of honour.

He afterwards accompanied General Sir William Meadows to India; having then arrived at the rank of Colonel; and there recommended himself so strongly to the Marquis of Cornwallis, by his active and spirited behaviour, and also by his knowledge of fortification, and engineering, and the other various branches of a soldier's education, that his Lordship left him in India with the rank of Lieutenant-General, and of Commander-in-Chief of the British army there.

His conduct during the siege of Seringapatam, and on many subsequent occasions, proved in every respect a full justification of the high hopes which in early life he had raised in the bosom of his friends.

Even on the first day's advance the enemy began to annoy them. Parties of their horse were in all directions, and were not only active in burning the forage, and destroying the villages; but had even the audacity to attack Colonel Wellesley's rear guard, consisting of a company of Sepoys. Of these twenty were killed upon the spot, and Lieutenant Reynolds, and thirty-six wounded; but the commanding officer taking prompt steps they were immediately repulsed.

On the 19th, after a fatiguing march through a country full of jungles and defiles, intelligence was received that the army of Tippoo had advanced to Allagoor, a village near Sultaunpettah; and on the 28th, the left wing and the cavalry having encamped close to a pass about seven miles from Cankanelli, the right were advanced to Arravully, and Colonel Wellesley's division took up its ground at some distance in the rear.

On the 23d, after securing several posts and passes of importance, the right wing of the cavalry marched from Achil, and encamped at Sultaunpettah, the left wing and the battering train advancing to Achil, while Colonel Wellesley, with his detachment, marched from Cankanelli, and encamped in front of the army, and the village of Allagoor, from whence the Sultaun's army had retired. Early on the morning of the day, as the Colonel and his advance approached Sultaunpettah, a cloud of dust to the westward evidently denoted that the army of Tippoo was then in motion, and it afterwards appeared that it had just quitted its position on the westward bank of the Maddoor river, and had encamped at Mallavelly. As the movements from this date led to an action in which the Colonel had an opportunity of greatly distinguishing himself, we shall notice them more minutely from the observations of an eye-witness,

Pursuing their march, the right wing, the cavalry, and the detachment under Colonel Wellesley, halted

on the 25th of March, and were joined by the left wing and the battering train. On the 26th the whole moved in compact order, and encamped five miles to the eastward of Mallavelly. This gave Tippoo an opportunity of executing part of his intentions: for the spies, on their return from his camp, positively asserted that he had declared his intention of attacking them "as soon as they ventured out of the jungles," or thick forests through which they had to pass; and his having waited some days encamped on the banks of the Maddoor appeared to confirm the truth of their reports.

The ground taken up by the army on the 26th was open, and easily to be seen from the adjoining heights; and the enemy's advanced parties, amongst which were some elephants, soon appeared upon a distant ridge. From thence, after reconnoitering the British encampment for a considerable time, they retired, and in the evening fourteen or fifteen guns were seen in motion; the whole of which circumstances seemed to point out that the Sultaun was preparing for the execution of his threatened attack.

On the 27th therefore, at day break, Colonel Wellesley's division was ordered to move parallel to the left, but at some distance, so as to cover the baggage, and to be in readiness to act as circumstances should require; whilst the main body of the army marched from its left flank on the great road leading to Mallavelly. Major-General Floyd commanded the advance of the whole, having under him all the picquets; together with five regiments of cavalry; he approached within a mile of Mallavelly, but was there obliged to halt, in consequence of discovering a numerous body of the enemy's cavalry on the right flank; whilst their infantry remained on the heights beyond that place.

He was convinced that this was Tippoo's grand army; and, having reconnoitered his position, discovered some guns moving towards the right of the enemy's

Advance to action.

enemy's line, as if with the intention of occupying a ridge which enfiladed the low ground on the eastern flank of the village. He immediately concluded that these guns were intended to open upon our line whilst passing this ground; and having given the proper information to the Commander-in-Chief, measures were immediately taken for an instant attack, in order to frustrate his plans.

Colonel Wellesley, with his division, was directed to attack the Sultaun's right flank, whilst the picquets, under Colonel Sherbrooke, supported by the right wing of the main body, under Major-General Brydges, were to penetrate through the village of Mallavelly towards the centre of the enemy's line; and Major-General Popham, with the left wing and the rear guard, was to remain at the fort end of the village of Mallavelly, for the protection of the battering train and baggage; the five regiments of cavalry being formed on the left of the road, with orders to support Colonel Wellesley's attack.

The Colonel no sooner put his force in motion, and his manœuvre was perceived by the Sultaun, than the guns were drawn off to a ridge beyond that which they at first occupied. Here the main body of the enemy's infantry was drawn up, but at so great a distance, that it was at first imagined they were about to retire: and at this period General Harris, who had led the picquets and the right wing in person, arrived at the fort of Mallavelly, whilst Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson, the Quarter-Master-General, having advanced to reconnoitre the ground on the western side of the fort, now waited for instructions.

The General, indeed, was of opinion, from the enemy remaining at so great a distance, that he did not mean to advance; he, therefore, gave orders to Colonel Richardson to mark out the ground for a new encampment, which he performed under the protection of Colonel Sherbrooke with the picquets, reinforced

Action commences.

forced by the 25th light dragoons, and the second regiment of native cavalry. He had scarcely, however, marked out this new ground, when twelve or fourteen guns were opened from different parts of the enemy's line, at a distance of two thousand yards. Though at this distance they soon got the range, and did some execution; but our advanced troops were soon in motion, for Colonel Sherbrooke immediately pushed forward with the picquets, to a village in front of the left of the hostile army, from which he soon drove off a party of their cavalry and rocket men. This position was of such consequence that a body of the enemy's horse soon began to hover on our right flank; but they were kept in check by the 25th dragoons, under Colonel Cotton, who still maintained their position. The picquets were indeed now the most advanced part of the army, and had been most judiciously posted by Colonel Sherbrooke with their right to the village; but they were now considerably annoyed by the cannonade and rockets; and the cannonade increasing, the 5th, 1st, and 3d brigades were ordered to advance and form upon his left.

At this juncture Colonel Wellesley, supported by Major-General Floyd, with the three remaining regiments of cavalry, advanced en echelon of battalions; and the whole line thus moving slowly and steadily, time was given for the whole to act together, the enemy's cannonade being answered by as many of the field-pieces, as could be brought up; the action thus becoming general along the whole front. At this moment a desperate attempt was made on the part of Tippoo, by moving forward a column to the number of two thousand men, in excellent order, towards the 33d regiment, but this gallant corps, reserving its fire with the utmost steadiness, received that of the enemy at the distance of sixty yards; and, continuing to advance, the column gave way and were thrown into disorder, at which critical moment

General

Battle of Mallavelly.

General Floyd making a rapid charge completed the route with great slaughter.

The enemy's first line, with the whole of its guns, was now forced by the advance of the whole British line to retire to the next height, where their second line was formed. They were at this time almost beyond the reach of our guns; and the cannonade, which had lasted three hours, having ceased on both sides, on account of the distance, the enemy retreated: indeed it may be said that the action, properly speaking, was of very short duration; for, although some corps of their infantry, as well as cavalry, exhibited the strongest proofs of courage, yet it was totally impossible for them to withstand the determined valour and steadiness of the British force.

The British loss was inconsiderable, three officers only being wounded, six Europeans killed, and thirty-four wounded; the loss of our native troops amounting to only about half the number; but though the enemy appeared to suffer severely, yet it was impossible to ascertain the extent of their loss, as they carried off both killed and wounded, which were afterwards understood to have amounted to upwards of one thousand; and it was afterwards accurately known, that of the column which attacked Colonel Wellesley, and was afterwards charged by General Floyd, only two hundred and thirty remained on the field in a state for service, after the action was over. It has also been mentioned that some of the prisoners asserted that the infantry were driven on by the horse, and ordered to attack the British; a fact further corroborated by an eye-witness, who adds, that the firmness of those corps which opposed his Majesty's 33d regiment, as well as the gallantry of a party of horse that charged the European brigade, was perhaps never exceeded by the Sultaun's troops on any former occasion.

On the approach towards Seringapatam Colonel Wellesley, with his division, accompanied by the
S cavalry,

cavalry, and the right wing of the army, encamped on the north side of the river Cauvery, whilst the left wing crossed that river, at a very practicable ford, a movement which tended much to defeat the proposed plans of the enemy against their advance.

On the 1st of April, 1799, the whole army was within thirteen miles of Seringapatam; on the 3d the army marched by the left, and Colonel Wellesley's division, keeping on the right, moved along the bank of the river, the whole encamping again upon the high road, at the distance of five miles from that fortress.

To go through all the details of this important siege would be far beyond our proposed limits, we shall, therefore, briefly state that on the 5th of April the whole British army took up its ground opposite the west face of the fort of Seringapatam, at the distance of only three thousand five hundred yards, the left being to the river Cauvery, whilst Colonel Wellesley, with his division, was encamped *en potence*, to the right of the whole.

In front of the British camp were several ruined villages, and rocky eminences, besides an aqueduct, which passing from the left of the camp takes there an easterly direction, till it approaches within seventeen hundred yards of the fort, where it winds off to the right to a large grove of cocoa trees and bamboos, called the Sultaunpettah Tope: and these positions afforded cover for the enemy's infantry and rocket men so near to the camp, that many of the rockets thrown from these places fell among the tents.

In order to dislodge them from this cover, Colonel Wellesley had orders on the evening of the 5th of April to have the 33d regiment, and the 2d Bengal regiment, in readiness at sunset; whilst Colonel Shaw with the 12th, and two battalions of Sepoys with their guns, received similar orders: the former being destined to scour the Sultaunpettah Tope, whilst

whilst the latter was to attack the posts at the aqueduct. It was a little after sun-set before these detachments advanced, which they did both at the same instant, the obscurity of the night being at the same time rather unfavourable to their operations. Colonel Wellesley, immediately upon entering the Tope, was assailed from it on every side by a hot fire of musquetry and rockets, which circumstance, added to the darkness of the night, the uncertainty of the enemy's force and position, and the badness of the ground, obliged him solely to confine his operations to the mere object of making a diversion, and to postpone the attack of the post until a more favourable opportunity, whilst Colonel Shaw was enabled to seize upon a ruined village within forty yards of the aqueduct, so as to secure his troops from the musquetry of the enemy, who however still retained possession of the aqueduct itself.

The Commander-in-Chief the next morning (the 6th) observing that the village, where Colonel Shaw was posted, was still much galled by the enemy's musquetry, a reinforcement during the night having arrived at the aqueduct, and feeling that the possession of the Sultaumpettah Tope was absolutely necessary not only for the support of Colonel Shaw's post; but also for the security of the camp against the annoyance of the enemy's rockets, he made a disposition to drive in the whole of the enemy's outposts extending from the Cauvery to the Tope, and ordered that three distinct, but simultaneous, attacks should be made under cover of some guns brought forward for that purpose.

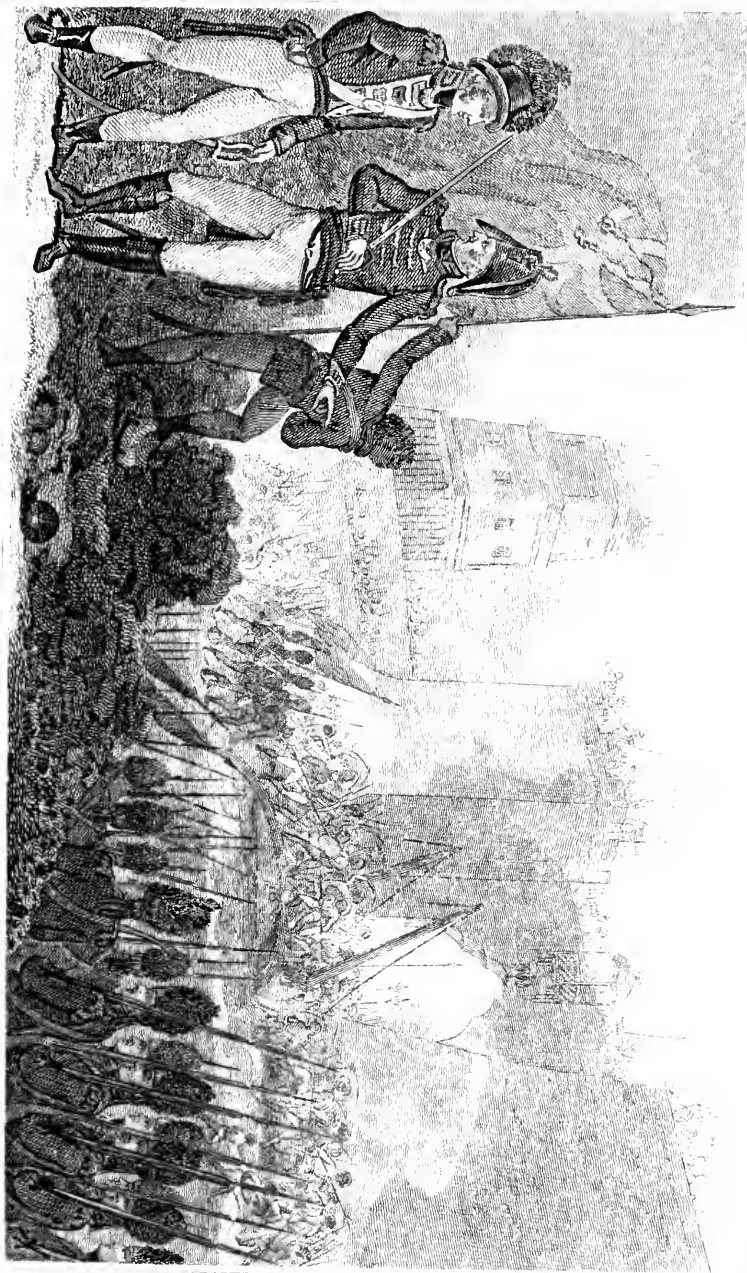
The attack on the Sultaumpettah Tope again was entrusted to Colonel Wellesley; Colonel Shaw was to advance from the ruined village which he occupied, and to dislodge the party posted in the aqueduct; whilst Colonel Wallace was to attack a village on the enemy's right flank, with the grenadiers of

Siege continued.

the 74th and two companies of sepoys ; and the whole was to take place exactly at nine o'clock.

At the appointed hour Colonel Wellesley advanced to the attack of the Tope with the Scotch brigade, two battalions of sepoys, and four guns ; and the enemy firing under cover of the bank of the aqueduct, their fire was returned by a few discharges from the field pieces, when the whole corps rushed on with great gallantry ; and the Colonel having judiciously detached parties to take the post in flank, the enemy were thereby immediately thrown into confusion, and forced to retire with great precipitation. At this precise moment Colonel Wallace took possession of the village, on the right flank, which commanded a considerable part of the aqueduct ; and Colonel Shaw having quitted the ruined village, rushed upon the enemy, and drove them from that part of the aqueduct from which he had been so much annoyed, during the night ; the whole of the advanced line of posts was immediately occupied by our troops, the success of those brilliant attacks, so ably planned, and so gallantly executed, securing to the assailants a strong connected line of posts, extending from the river to the Tope, a distance of about two miles, forming in some measure ; by means of the aqueduct, a complete line of contravallation at a proper distance both from the camp, and from the line of attack.

The siege proceeded with great gallantry and perseverance on both sides, until the 26th, when the enemy still retaining possession of parts of an entrenchment, at the distance of two hundred and thirty yards from the approaches, it was found necessary, in order to facilitate the further operations of the siege, that they should be dislodged from it to secure the working parties from the effects of musquetry. It was settled, that all the batteries should keep up a smart fire upon these works, and also on the entrenchments, for at least half an hour before the assailants advanced ;





General assault.

advanced; but that as soon as they should be seen to approach the posts of the enemy, then the fire should be directed against that line of fire, in the fort itself, from which most annoyance might be expected.

The directions of these attacks was given to Colonel Wellesley, who on that day commanded in the trenches, which he did with such precision and gallantry, that the two columns, which advanced a little after sunset, stormed the entrenchment with great spirit, threw the enemy into confusion, and succeeded in establishing the posts, which were immediately secured as effectually as possible from the annoyance of the fire from the works.

To detail all the various gallant occurrences during this memorable siege would require volumes; we must therefore content ourselves with noticing, that the batteries having at noon, on the 3d of May, rendered the breach almost practicable, scaling ladders, fascines, and other materials, were ordered to be sent to the trenches, after sunset, and to be kept in readiness for the assault.

The breach being considered practicable, on the evening of the 3d, the troops destined for the assault were stationed in the trenches, before day-break of the 4th, at which time Colonel Wellesley was ordered to take the command of the reserve in the advanced works, in order to act as circumstances might point out, his own regiment, the 33d, forming part of the left column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, which was to attack the northern rampart.

About half-past one in the afternoon, General Baird having completed his arrangements, stepped out of the trench, drew his sword, and, in the most heroic and animating manner, said to his men, "Come, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy the name of British soldiers!" In an instant both columns rushed from the trenches, and entered the bed of the river, under cover of the fire of the batteries; but, being immediately discovered by the

enemy, they were assailed by rockets and musquetry. In six minutes the forlorn hope, closely followed by the rest of the troops, had reached the summit of the breach, where the British colours were almost instantly displayed; a most glorious and animating sight to the rest of the army, whose anxiety was immediately relieved; for until our troops had crossed the ditch, (although every precaution was taken for filling it, if necessary,) even the most sanguine minds could not be utterly void of doubt.*

In a few minutes more the breach, one hundred feet wide, was crowded with men, who being now collected in sufficient force to enter upon the rampart, filed off to the right and left according to General Baird's instructions.

The conduct of Tippoo himself was on this occasion highly creditable to his personal character. According to his usual custom, he went out early in the morning to one of the cavaliers of the outer rampart, whence

* The forlorn hope was led by a serjeant of the light company of the Bombay European regiment, who volunteered his services on the occasion; his name was Graham. He ran forward to examine the breach; and mounting it he pulled off his hat, and with three cheers called out "Success to Lieutenant Graham," (alluding to his having a commission if he survived,) on which he rejoined his party, and remounted with them with the colours in his hand. Upon reaching the rampart, he struck the colour staff in it, exclaiming, "Damn 'em, I'll shew them the British flag!" and was at that moment shot through the head. The gallant fellow left an European widow and four children behind him, who were, however, taken care of.

Lieutenant Colonel Dunlop, who greatly distinguished himself, received his wound, in a personal contest with one of Tippoo's Sirdars, who assailed him with his scymeter, about half way up the breach, making a desperate cut at the Colonel, which the latter was so fortunate as to parry, and instantly returned with a cut that laid his adversary's breast open: the Sirdar, although mortally wounded, made another blow at Colonel Dunlop, which struck him across the wrist of the right hand, and nearly cut it through. The Sirdar then instantly reeled back and fell on the breach, where he was bayoneted by the soldiers as they passed. Colonel Dunlop still went on at the head of his men until he ascended to the top of the breach, where he fell from the loss of blood, and was carried off to the rear by some soldiers.

whence he could observe what was doing on both sides. He remained there till about noon, when he took his usual repast under a Pandal. At this time he seems to have had no idea of an immediate attack, even though told that the British lines were unusually crowded with Europeans; but merely sent orders to Meer Goffar, a favourite officer, to keep a strict guard. He was informed a few minutes afterwards that Meer Goffar was killed by a cannon shot.—“Well,” said he, “Meer Goffar was never afraid of death.” Yet he was evidently agitated, ordered the troops near him immediately under arms, and desired his servants to load his carbines; and, hastening along the ramparts towards the breach, he then met a number of his troops flying before the van of the assailants, who, he now first perceived, had mounted the walls. Here he exerted himself to rally the fugitives, encouraging them both by voice and example. He repeatedly fired on our troops himself, and one of his servants asserted that he saw him bring down several Europeans from the breach.

At this critical moment, the front of the European flank companies approached the spot where he stood; he now found himself almost deserted, and was forced to retire to the traverses of the north ramparts. These he defended, one after another, with the bravest of his men and officers, and indeed several times, assisted by the inflading fire from the inner walls, obliged our troops to halt in their advance, until the 12th regiment crossing the inner ditch took him in flank. Yet even then, whilst any of his troops remained with him, he disputed every inch of ground, until he approached the passage across the ditch to the gate of the inner fort. Here he complained of pain and weakness in one of his legs, in which he had received a bad wound when very young; and ordering his horse to be brought, he mounted; but seeing the Europeans still advancing on both the ramparts, he made for the gate followed by his palanquin,

quin, and a number of officers, troops, and servants. Here, as he was crossing to the gate, he received a musquet ball in his right side, nearly as high as the breast; he, however, still pressed on until he was stopped about half way through the arch of the gateway, by the fire of the 12th light infantry from within, when he received a second ball close to the other. The horse he rode on being also wounded, sunk under him; and his turban fell to the ground. Many of his people fell at the same time, on every side, by musquetry both from within and without the gate. The fallen Sultaun was immediately raised by some of his adherents, and placed upon his palanquin, under the arch, and on one side of the gateway, where he lay or sat some minutes, faint and exhausted, till some Europeans entered the gateway. A servant who survived related that one of the soldiers seized his swordbelt which was very rich, and attempted to pull it off; that the Sultaun, who still held his sword in his hand, made a cut at the soldier with all his remaining strength, and wounded him about the knee; on which he put his piece to his shoulder, and shot the Sultaun through the temple, when he instantly expired! no less than three hundred men were killed under this gateway, besides numbers wounded, so that it soon became impassable, except over the bodies of the dead and dying.

During the contest, and before the palace of Tippoo was actually given up, Major Allan had gone in with a flag of truce, in order to convince the princes, the sons of Tippoo, of the folly of resistance. All of them were alarmed at the proposal; and were particularly reluctant to allowing the gates to be opened, except on the authority of their father, to whom they desired to send. At length, however, Major Allan having promised that he would post a guard of their own sepoys within, and a party of Europeans on the outside, and having also given them strong assurances that no person should be allowed to enter the

Generous treatment of his sons.

palace, except by his authority, and that he would return and remain with them until General Baird arrived, he convinced them of the necessity of compliance, and had the satisfaction of observing that the princes, as well as their attendants, seemed to rely with confidence on the assurances he had given them.

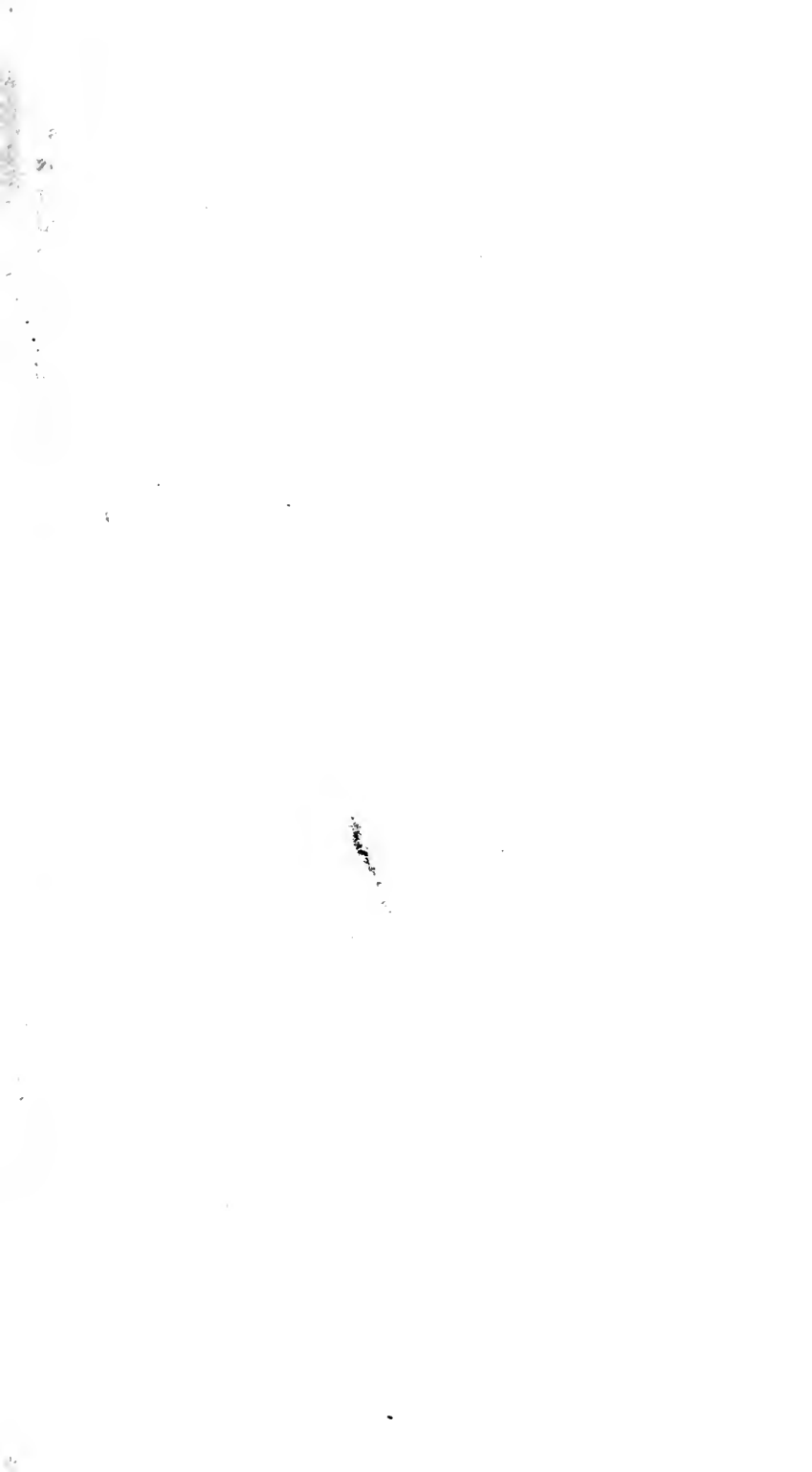
On opening the gate, he found General Baird and several officers with a large body of troops assembled; and he then returned into the palace, for the purpose of bringing the princes to the general. He had some difficulty, however, in conquering the alarm, and the objections which they raised as to quitting the palace; but they at length permitted him and Colonel Close to conduct them to the gate.

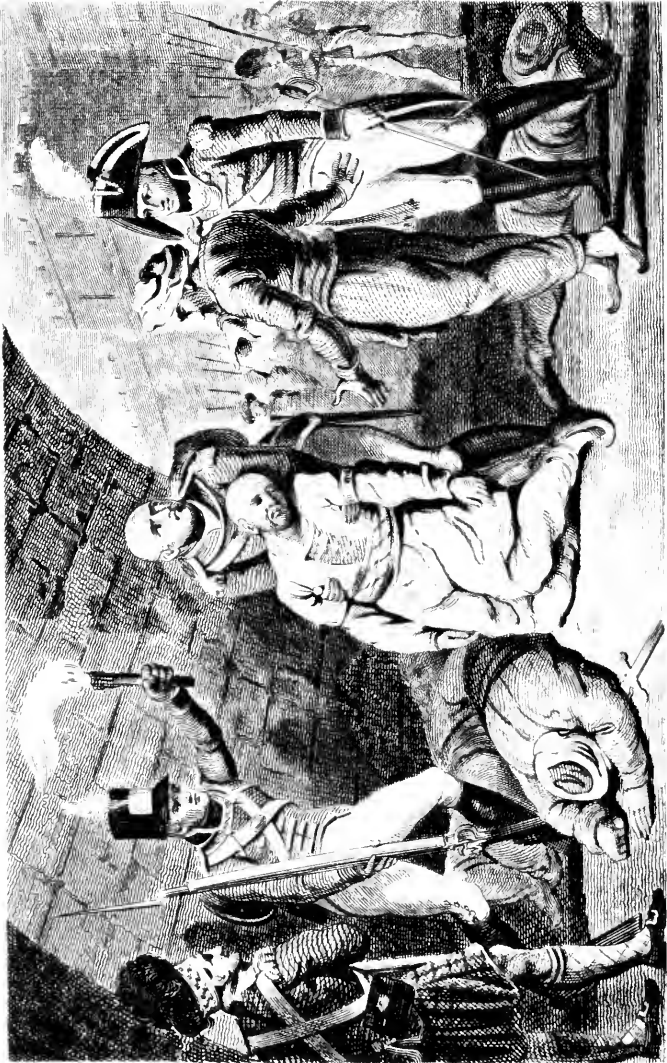
The indignation of General Baird was at that time justly raised, by a report which had then reached him, that the Sultann had most inhumanly murdered all the Europeans who had fallen into his hands during the siege; this was heightened probably by a momentary recollection of his own sufferings, during more than three years' imprisonment in that very place; he was nevertheless sensibly affected by the sight of the princes; and his gallantry, on the assault, was not more conspicuous, than the moderation and humanity he displayed on this occasion. He received the unhappy princes with every mark of regard, repeatedly assuring them that no violence or insult should be offered to them, and he gave them in charge to Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew and Captain Marriott, by whom they were conducted to headquarters in camp, escorted by the light company of Colonel Wellesley's own regiment the 33d, whilst, as they passed, the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presented arms.

General Baird now determined to search the most retired parts of the palace in hopes of finding Tip-poo Sultann. He ordered the light company of the 74th regiment, followed by others, to enter the palace,

Search for Tippoo's body.

lace yard. Tippoo's troops were immediately disarmed, and search was made through the various apartments. The *killedar*, or commanding officer of the palace, being entreated, if he had any regard for his own life, or that of the Sultaun, to inform the British where he was concealed, he laid his hand upon the hilt of Major Allan's sword, and in the most solemn manner protested that the Sultaun was not in the palace, but that he had been wounded during the assault, and lay in a gateway in the north face of the fort, whither he offered to conduct the party, saying that if it was found that he had deceived them, the general might inflict on him whatever punishment he pleased. General Baird, on hearing the report of the killedar, proceeded to the gateway, which was covered with many hundreds of the slain. The number of the dead, and the darkness of the place, made it difficult to distinguish one person from another, and the scene was altogether shocking; but aware of the great political importance of ascertaining, beyond the possibility of doubt, the death of Tippoo, the bodies were ordered to be dragged out, and the killedar and the other two persons with him were desired to examine them one after another. This, however, appeared endless; and as it was now becoming dark, a light was procured, and Major Allan accompanied the killedar into the gateway. During the search, they discovered a wounded person laying under the Sultaun's palanquin: this man was afterwards ascertained to be Rajah Cawn, one of Tippoo's most confidential servants. He had attended his master during the whole of the day; and, on being made acquainted with the object of the search, immediately pointed out the spot where the Sultaun had fallen. By a faint glimmering light, it was difficult for the killedar to recognize the features: but the body being brought out, and satisfactorily proved to be that of the Sultaun, was conveyed in a palanquin to the palace, where





Gen. Arthur Wellesley, Discovering the Body of Tippon Sahib.
Published by J. & I. Gaudes, Albion Press, London, 1817.

where it was recognized by the eunuchs and other servants of the family.

When the Sultaun was first brought from under the gateway, his eyes were open, and the body was so warm, that for a few moments Colonel Wellesley, who, with his accustomed activity, was then on the spot, was doubtful whether he was not alive; but, on feeling his pulse and heart, that doubt was removed. The countenance was no way distorted, but had an appearance of calm composure. His turban, jacket, and swordbelt, were gone; but the body was recognized by his people; and an officer, who was present, with the leave of General Baird, tore off from his right arm the *Talisman*, which contained, sewed up in pieces of fine flowered silk, an amulet of a brittle metallic substance of the colour of silver, and some manuscripts in magic Arabic, and Persian, characters. The body was placed in his palanquin, and conveyed to the court of the palace, shewing him, who had left that palace in the morning a mighty prince, now brought back a lump of clay, and his kingdom overthrown!*

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The

* Tippoo Sultaun at the time of his downfall was about fifty two years of age. His constitution was much impaired, and he was subject to two disorders, the frequent return of which kept him under a constant course of medicine. In person he was from five feet eight to nine inches high, and rather inclined to fat, although formerly very thin; his face was round, with large full eyes; and there were much animation and fire in his countenance; he wore whiskers, but no beard; was very active, and sometimes took very long walks. He had eleven children: but only two of these were born in marriage, a girl and boy.

His disposition was naturally cruel; his temper was passionate and revengeful; he was prone to be abusive, but his words were often false and hypocritical as best suited his purposes. He professed himself to be a *Naib* or forerunner to one of the Twelve Prophets whom the Mahometans believe are yet to come; and under this pretence he persecuted all other casts, forcing numbers to become Mussulmans. In the war of 1790, in particular, when he had ravaged the country of the *Nairs* on the Malabar coast, it was computed that upwards of
twenty

The number of men actually under arms at this glorious assault was only 2494 Europeans, and 1882 native troops, making a total of 4376.

The

twenty thousand persons had suffered under his persecutions in the short space of about four months. The men who refused to submit to circumcision were hanged on the trees surrounding the villages; and the women of the east, the noblest in India, on refusing to adopt the Mahometan custom of covering their bosoms, which they consider as a mark of degradation and slavery, had their breasts cut off, and suffered many other insults and indignities. Shortly after this, he had nearly lost his life in an attack on the lines of Travancore where he was forced to leave his palanquin behind him, together with his pistols, and a small signet or seal ring which he usually wore, and which the editor of these sheets has seen, and so very small that the finger on which it was worn must have been delicate in the extreme. His wealth, after the conclusion of the first war with England, was very great. In an inventory which he caused to be taken of it, there were enumerated 700 elephants, 6000 camels, 11,000 horses, 400,000 bullocks and cows, 100,000 buffaloes, 600,000 sheep, 300,000 firelocks, 300,000 matchlocks, 200,000 swords and cresses, or daggers, and 2000 guns of different calibres in Seringapatam and his other fortresses: and his total revenue amounted to five crores and ninety two lacks of Pagodas worth three rupees each.

His policy, however, arising from his prejudices, was inimical to his interest; for the revenues diminished greatly after his father's death, partly from his removing all the Brachmans and others of the Hindu cast, who were well versed in country business, from the offices of collection, and partly from his forbidding the sale of attack and gunja throughout his dominions, which had formerly produced a very considerable revenue.

Upon the whole, though this man was certainly a very extraordinary character, yet his abilities have been undoubtedly over-rated: and it is now considered that he was neither so good a statesman, nor so able a general, as has often been represented. Selfish, cunning, and rapacious, he acted upon narrow principles, both in government and war; and was greatly deficient in that comprehension, and vigour of mind, which are essential ingredients in the composition of all true greatness; though it must be confessed that he possessed a considerable share of prudence, and was not wanting either in promptitude or judgment.

The consequence of all this was, that his revenue regulations, though framed with great ability, and apparently well calculated to enrich both the prince and people, were frustrated in their operations by his shifting and narrow policy; and the same contrast ran through all his conduct and all his character, both political and military.

His

The act of storming displayed a most animating and unrivalled picture of British gallantry; for we have seen that the columns of grenadiers dashed, as it were, across the river at noon day, despising the difficulties of the passage, to mount the breach, which could have been practicable alone to their irresistible force and bravery. The impetuous spirit which led them on in the face of a very heavy and

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continued.

His revengeful disposition may be easily conceived from the following curious extract from one of his own MSS.

“The means I have taken to keep in remembrance the misfortunes I experienced six years ago (alluding to the war with Lord Cornwallis,) from the malice of my enemies, are to discontinue sleeping in a cotton bed, and to make use of a cloth one; when I am victorious, I shall resume the bed of cotton.”

His thoughts were constantly bent on war and military preparations. He has been frequently heard to say, that in this world he would rather live two days like a tyger, than two hundred years like a sheep; and, something on this principle, he adopted the figure of the royal tyger as a species of armorial bearing, and as the emblem of his state. His father had chosen the elephant.

The title of “Lion of God,” was formerly given by Mahomet to his son-in-law, Ali, to denote the prowess and valour by which he signalized himself in fighting under the prophet’s banners. Innumerable, indeed, are the traditions and records of the deeds of this celebrated warrior; and he seems to have been a second Jack the Giant Killer, as many of the romantic tales of the Moor-men have him as their hero. On his example, Tippoo was anxious to form himself; and him he adopted as the guardian genius, or tutelary saint, of his dominions. It was natural, therefore, for him to assume his name; and accordingly upon his sabres and other arms he had a cypher cut in Arabic characters, signifying “the Lion of God is the conqueror;” and these letters were so artfully arranged as to bear some resemblance to a tyger’s face: and it is perhaps likely that the assumption of the tyger as his own emblem was as much in honour of Ali as boastfully indicative of his own disposition, for the natives of Hindoostan make no distinction between the Tyger and the Lion.

It was a favourite maxim with him that kings should be inflexible in their orders; that God had forbidden the use of wine; and that he should persist in exacting a strict obedience to his edicts on that subject. Yet, with all this inflexibility, his conversation was remarkably lively, entertaining, and instructive; and during his meals he was fond of reciting passages of the most admired historians and poets; and sometimes amused himself with sarcasms upon the infidels, and the enemies of his government.

French republican officers.

continued fire of cannon and musquetry, the rapidity with which they ascended the ladder, and the resistless courage with which they drove the affrighted enemy from the walls, soon combined, indeed, to throw the principal works into their possession. The hour of attack also was fortunate, and judiciously chosen; it being one at noon, when numbers of the besieged had retired to take refreshment; though enough still remained to have repelled less daring assailants.

The carnage also on this occasion was much less than might have been expected (however it may still be lamented) when we contemplate a large city thus entered by storm, and filled with people whose opposition was continued in the streets and from the houses, and where no incentive was wanting to gratify lust, rapine, and revenge. But it should be for ever remembered, to the honour both of officers and men, that the effusion of blood was very soon restrained; and that under circumstances of provocation which sufficiently proved, if proof were ever wanting, the humanity of the British character. Nor in the course of that plunder which the laws of war allow, in certain cases, to the conquerors, was any defenceless inhabitant killed, nor any woman treated with wanton brutality.

With respect to the French republican officers,*
and

* The proceedings of these republican gentry may be justly appreciated from the fact that in the archives of the Sultaun, after the siege, there was found a journal of the proceedings of a *Jacobin Club* established by them; from which it appeared that their secretary could not spell, and that the members could not write their own names. These men, with all the ignorance and audacity of their brethren at Paris, on the 24th of April 1797, had actually raised the national colours, surmounted with the *bonnet rouge*, in the presence of "Citizen Prince Tippoo," as they ridiculously called him, whilst the Jacobin army at Hyderabad, the court of the Nizam, under Perron, displayed the colours of the republic of France on a staff, whose head was ornamented with a scymeter, which piercing a crescent, (the emblem

and others indeed, though they obtained the quarter, which from their conduct they so ill deserved, yet it has been observed by an eye witness that it must be imputed to accident rather than to any disposition in their favour : but that party had shut themselves up with the defenders of the palace till the first burst of violence was past ; and, mixing with them, partook of the mercy by which they were preserved.

Every delicacy was shewn to the remains of the unfortunate chief ; and the preparations for his funeral were superintended by the principal *Canzee* of Seringapatam, every article which he thought proper to order being provided in order that the ceremony might be performed with as much pomp as circumstances would admit of. Indeed Colonel Wellesley, who was then appointed commandant, gave directions not only that four flank companies of Europeans should attend, but also that minute guns should be fired during the interval, a mark of respect which the Prince, Abdul Khalie, at first declined the acceptance of, until he was convinced of its true intent.

On the morning of the 5th of May, Colonel Wellesley relieved General Baird ; and on the following day was appointed to the permanent command of Seringapatam, as noticed above, on which occasion he with the greatest promptitude used every means in his power to prevent every kind of excess. Public notice was given that severe examples would be made of any persons detected in the act of plundering the houses, or molesting the inhabitants ; four men were in consequence executed for plundering, and the most perfect tranquillity was immediately restored. These examples, and the personal activity of the Colonel himself, who went into all the houses of the principal inhabitants to establish safeguards, soon

blem of Mahometanism) was most daringly and significantly crowned with the Cap of Liberty.

Removal of Tippoo's family.

soon produced a general confidence ; the inhabitants, who had fled on the night of the storm, returned to their habitations, and resumed their usual occupations ; in a few days the bazars were stored with all kinds of merchandize and provisions, for which there was a ready and advantageous sale ; and an eye witness declares that three days after the storm the principal streets was so crowded as to be almost impassable, presenting rather the appearance of a fair than of a captured city.

The first important duty which fell upon Colonel Wellesley after the capture, he being one of the commissioners * appointed for the final regulation and establishment of the new conquest, was the removal of the families of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun from Seringapatam to the Carnatic. The details of this delicate office, of this painful but indispensable measure, fell to his lot as commandant ; and though his conduct and regulations were considered as subject to such suggestions as might be offered by the other members of the commission ; yet it has been well said, that to his prudential precautions, which the occasion required to prevent the possibility of commotion or escape, to his discretion, activity, and humanity, throughout the whole of this arduous and difficult task, is justly ascribed the facility with which it was accomplished.

Information

* In detailing the steps necessary for this delicate business, the Governor-General in his instructions observed that it could not be entrusted to any person more likely to combine every office of humanity, with the prudential precautions required, than Colonel Wellesley ; and he therefore committed to his discretion, activity, and humanity, the whole arrangement ; but subject always to such suggestions as might be offered by the other commissioners. He added that Colonel Wellesley, in his name, would give the most unequivocal assurances of protection and indulgence to every part of the family ; and that he was persuaded that the humanity of General Harris would induce him to exert every effort to mitigate all the rigorous parts of this necessary and most expedient revolution, so loudly called for by a due regard to British interest, and the welfare of the natives themselves.

Information having been given that a quantity of jewels were concealed in the Seraglio, application was made to Colonel Wellesley, the commandant, for permission to search, which he readily granted; and the proper notice being given to remove the women from the apartments which it was intended to examine, the gentlemen deputed for that service proceeded to the task. They were disappointed, however, in their object, for they did not find any thing of value; and it was ascertained afterwards that Tippoo never entrusted his women with the care of his jewels, or even of their own.

On this examination it appeared that there were in all, including some of the wives and other ladies of the late Hyder's family, six hundred and fifty females in the Seraglio and palace; a number almost equalling those of Solomon himself.

This business at first made some noise; and the Governor General in a subsequent dispatch observed that he had heard, with the utmost degree of surprise and concern, that the *Zenana*, or women's apartment, in the palace of the Sultaun, was searched; and added that he could have wished, for the honour of the British name, that the apartments of the women had not been disturbed. He acknowledged that in the heat and confusion of an assault, such excesses are no doubt frequently unavoidable; but that he should ever lament that this scene should have been acted long after the contest had subsided, and when the whole place had submitted to the superiority of our victorious arms. He then observed that if any personal ornaments, or other articles of value, were taken from the women in that unfortunate moment, he trusted that the Commander-in-Chief would make it his business to vindicate the humanity of the British character, by using the most zealous exertions to obtain a full restitution of the property in question. After this observation, he hinted that he thought it superfluous to add his most anxious expectation,

pectation, that the utmost degree of care would be taken to secure the personal property of the princes and of the women, when the period of their removal should arrive.

To this remonstrance the Commissioners subsequently replied, assuring him that before the Zenana was searched for treasure, separate apartments were prepared for the ladies, and no precaution omitted to secure them from the possibility of being exposed to any inconvenience.

Upwards of ten lacks of rupees worth of jewels, and the amount of 500 camel loads of muslins, shawls, rich cloths, and various kinds of merchandize, were found as prize to the captors.

The Sultaun's throne, being too unwieldy to be carried away, was broken up; it was a *howdar* or armed seat, upon a tyger, covered with sheet gold; the ascent to it was by silver steps, gilt, having silver nails, and all the other fastenings of the same metal. The canopy was alike superb, and decorated with a costly fringe of fine pearls all around it. The eyes and teeth of the tyger were of glass. It was valued at 60,000 pagodas, upwards of 25,000*l.* sterling. The sheet gold alone was estimated at 40,000 pagodas. Every inch of the howdar contained an Arabic sentence, chiefly from the Koran, superbly stamped, being raised and polished in the most beautiful manner.

A gold figure of a bird, covered over with the most precious stones, was fastened to the top of the canopy; its beak was a large emerald; its eyes carbuncles: the breast was covered with diamonds; and the wings which were expanded, as if in the act of hovering, were completely lined with diamonds; on the back were many large jewels, well and fancifully disposed; the tail, which resembled a peacock's, was also studded in the same manner; and the whole so arranged as to imitate the plumage, yet so closely set that the gold was scarcely visible.

A num.

Cruelty of Tippoo.

A number of tigers were found in the palace yard ; but these were all ordered to be shot to prevent accidents.

Greater part of this treasure had been the plunder of the unhappy Mysore family, and of many other inferior Rajahs. There was every thing, in short, which money or force could procure. Amidst all the apparent immensity of confusion, every thing was regularly labelled and arranged ; and Tippoo himself, whose desire of hoarding was insatiable, always passed the greatest part of his leisure time, in reviewing this varied and splendid assemblage of his riches.

It is a remarkable fact, that the public dispatches to or from the different presidencies and officers with Lord Cornwallis, and such other public or private letters, as were intercepted by Tippoo during the preceding war, were all found in the palace. They were carefully packed up ; and, what is more remarkable, not more than three or four of the letters had ever been opened, the seals of all the others being entire.

During the subsequent search Tippoo's only brother, Kerim Saheb, was found in a dungeon with heavy irons on hands and feet ; he had languished in that horrid condition, for many years, from an unfounded fit of jealousy that the tyrant had conceived against him.

The primary objects of the Commander-in-Chief's attention, after the fall of this fortress, were to disband the late Sultaun's army, and to obtain possession of the principal strong holds, throughout his dominions.

The measures necessary for effecting the first of these objects were accordingly taken, through the agency of Purneah. The Sillahdar horse, of their own accord, returned to their lands ; the corps, formerly Lally's, surrendered ; and the Europeans composing it, together with those under M. Chapuy, re-

cently arrived from the Mauritius, were secured, and immediately sent as prisoners of war into the Carnatic.

The army of Bombay, which had joined the main army during the siege, were detached to take possession of the Canara country; and circular letters were sent to all the killadars, or commanders of the various fortresses, requiring the surrender of their posts to the British arms, and giving them general assurances of favour and protection, all which were attended to, and every thing soon arranged in the most amicable manner.

The villagers immediately returned to their occupations, throughout the whole country; and, in a very short time, the strongest symptoms appeared of a general disposition to submit to the orders of the British government, without opposition or reluctance.

On a further investigation of the palace, all the records of Tippoo's government were fortunately secured, and were found to contain the whole of his correspondence with the French.

In one of these he told them that he acknowledged the *sublimity* of their constitution; and, as a proof of his sincerity, he proposed to their nation a treaty of alliance and *fraternity*, for ever indissoluble; and to be founded on *republican* principles, of sincerity and good faith; and he concluded by exclaiming—"Happy moment! the time is come, when I can deposit in the bosoms of my friends the hatred which I bear against those oppressors of the human race. If you will assist me, in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India! you have the power and the means of effecting it, by your free negroes. With these new citizens (much dreaded by the English) joined to your troops of the line, we will purge India of those villains! The springs which I have touched have put all India in motion; my friends are ready to fall upon the English; &c."

The British government had now a very difficult part to perform; for the necessity now occurred of de-termining

termining in what hands the new government of the Mysore should be placed. It seemed expedient, indeed, that a choice should instantly be made between the pretensions of the family of Tippoo Sultaun, and those of the ancient house of the Rajahs of Mysore, neither of whom, however, were considered as having any absolute right or title to the throne.

As the Earl of Mornington feelingly expressed himself, in one of his public dispatches, the claims of humanity, on both sides, rendered the decision a painful and ungracious task. No alternative remained in fact, but to depose that dynasty which was found upon the throne, or to confirm the Mahometan usurpation, and, with it, the perpetual exclusion and degradation of the legitimate Hindoo sovereigns of those countries. It was also a matter of serious reflection that the usurpation, although not sanctioned by remote antiquity, had yet subsisted for such a length of time as to have nearly extinguished the hopes of the Hindoo family, and accustomed them to the humility of their fortune ; whilst the sons of Tippoo, born in the state of royalty, and educated with the proudest and most exalted expectations of sovereignty and power, would be proportionably sensible of the sudden change of their condition, and the unexpected disappointment of their splendid prospects.

In this view of the subject Lord Mornington, with great feeling, declared that it would have been more grateful to his mind, (securing at the same time a munificent provision for the ancient family of Mysore,) to have restored that of Tippoo Sultaun to the throne, if such a restoration could have been accomplished without exposing the Mysore to the perpetual hazard of internal commotions, and of foreign war ; and also without endangering the stability of the intended settlement, of the mutual interests of England, and her Indian allies.

These latter objects were certainly of great importance ; for there was every reason to believe that the

total destruction of the British power in India had for many years, nay always, formed the favourite and unremitting object of Tippoo's hopes and exertions; that he not only trusted to have accomplished this destruction, by instigating the French to invade that country; but that he had also prosecuted this unalterable purpose with all the zeal and ardour of passionate resentment and vindictive hatred, as well as with the steadiness of a deliberate maxim of state policy. It was, therefore, natural to conclude, that his heir, and indeed his whole family, must have been educated in the same principles, encouraged to indulge the same prejudices and passions, and instructed to form the same views of the interest and honour of the Moorish throne of Mysore. That these sentiments were strengthened by the events of the war was also extremely probable; and it was not likely, that the heir would ever be brought to consider himself in any other than a degraded and abject state, if placed on the throne by British favour, and limited by British controul; under arrangements too, which would have required our retention of a great part of the country, and of some of his principal strong holds; and to Lord Mornington's comprehensive judgment it did not seem unreasonable to suppose, that the *heir of Hyder Ali, and Tippoo Sultain*, animated by the implacable spirit and bold example of his ancestors, and accustomed to the commanding prospect of independent sovereignty, and to the splendour of military glory, might be tempted deliberately to hazard the remnant of his hereditary possessions in pursuit of so proud an object, as the recovery of that vast and powerful empire which, for so many years, had enabled those ancestors to be the scourge of the Carnatic, and the terror of almost all Southern India. On the other hand, it was very judiciously considered, that the restoration of the descendants of the ancient Rajahs of Mysore had all the force of this mode of reasoning in its favour; for the indignities which that
deposed

deposed family had suffered, especially during the cruel and tyrannical reign of Tippoo Sultaun, and the state of degradation and misery to which they had been reduced, would, it was expected, naturally excite a sentiment of gratitude and attachment to that power which should not only deliver them from oppression, but raise them to a state of considerable affluence and distinction. It was also an important consideration, that an intercourse of friendship and mutual kindness had always subsisted between that family and the British government; and that, even in the most desperate crisis of their adverse fortune, they had never formed the slightest connection with our enemies; and that as their elevation to the throne would be the spontaneous act of British generosity, so it would be from British support and alliance alone that they could ever hope to be maintained in their regal station, or to be defended against the usurper's descendants, or any other claimants.

In addition to all this, the Governor considered that all motives of policy, all moral considerations, and every sentiment of generosity and humanity, favoured the restoration of this ancient family. Their high birth, the antiquity of their legitimate title, and their long and unmerited sufferings, rendered them peculiar objects of compassion and respect; nor could it be doubted that their government would be both more acceptable and more indulgent than that of the Moorish usurpers to the mass of the inhabitants of the country, composed almost entirely of Hindoos: and the whole of these reasons induced him to adopt the resolution of preferring the descendant of the Rajahs of Mysore to the heir of Tippoo Sultaun.

For the accomplishment of a settlement founded on these principles so well established, the Governor-General issued a commission appointing Colonel Wellesley, along with General Harris, the Honourable Henry Wellesley, and Lieutenant-Colonels
Kirkpatrick

Removal of Tippoo's family.

Kirkpatrick and Close, as Commissioners for the affairs of the Mysore; and the first step undertaken by them was to make provision for the surviving officers and chiefs of the late Sultaun, and for the families of those slain during the campaign. This judicious measure succeeded in producing the most salutary effect, in tranquillizing the minds of the principal Mahometans remaining in Mysore, and in placing the clemency and generosity of the British government in the most conspicuous light.

The next important duty of Colonel Wellesley, as a Commissioner, was to undertake the painful, but necessary, task of removing the families of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun from Seringapatam to the Carnatic, for which purpose the fortress of Vellore was prepared for their reception, with payment of stipends allotted to both families, and every accommodation suitable to their former rank and expectations.

Colonel Wellesley, and the other Commissioners, with a degree of consideration highly praiseworthy, had, previously to the departure of the Princes from Seringapatam, cautiously abstained from all intercourse with the family of the Rajah of Mysore; but the moment the four eldest sons of Tippoo * had left that capital, Colonel Wellesley paid a visit to the young Rajah, whom he found, along with others of his persecuted family, in a condition of poverty and humiliation which excited the strongest emotions of compassion. The particulars of this interesting visit were fully detailed by the Commissioners in a dispatch to the Governor-General, in which they state, that having signified through *Purneah*, a confidential friend of the family, the general outlines of
the

* After the storm the two sons of Tippoo, who had been hostages at Madras, comforted themselves with a decent and manly resignation to their fate. They were ignorant of their father's death until the body was found, it being believed by them, as well as by others, that he had escaped.

the plan intended for their restoration to their original rank, a written answer was sent by the grandmother and aunt of the Rajah, then only a child of five years old, in which they expressed the greatest happiness at the pleasing prospects before them. They added, "Forty years have elapsed since our government ceased. Now you have favoured our boy with the government of this country, and nominated Purneah to be his dewan, (or minister,) we shall, while the sun and moon continue, commit no offence to your government. We shall at all times consider ourselves as under your protection and orders; your having established us must ever be fresh in the memory of our posterity from one generation to another. Our offspring can never forget an attachment to your government, on whose support we shall depend."

Colonel Wellesley, and three of the other Commissioners, immediately signified their intention of paying their personal respects to the family in the evening, and proceeded to their residence accompanied by Purneah; but, although every preparation was made for their reception, yet the misery in which they found them was almost indescribable. A portion of the apartment in which they were received was concealed by a curtain, behind which the *Rana*, or Queen mother, and the other relatives, were seated. The male part of the family received them with expressions of gratitude and joy proportioned to the magnitude of the benefits conferred on them, and to the state of obscurity and indigence from which they were now to be relieved, and in which they had been kept by Hyder and his son ever since the first usurpation.

On communicating, through Purneah, the general outline of the plan in their behalf, the *Rana*, in a most eloquent and energetic reply, expressed the lively sense which she entertained of British generosity, which had thus raised her and her family from the lowest state of human misery to that station of which
they

The Rajah placed on the throne.

they had been deprived by tyranny and usurpation. She dwelt particularly on the persecution to which she and her family had been exposed from the cruel, savage, and relentless disposition of the late Tippoo Sultana : but, she added, that the generosity of the India Company, having restored the ancient rights of her house in the person of her grandson, had opened to her a prospect of passing the remainder of her days in peace.

This venerable lady was the second wife of the Rajah, who reigned at the time of Hyder's usurpation : her name *Letchima Amany*, the second wife of *Kisna Raige Worrier* ; the maternal aunt of the young chief was *Dewaj Amany*, the second wife of *Chiam Raige*, his father, who had married eight wives, the young Rajah's mother, and this lady, being sisters.

The Rajah himself was a boy of five years old, of a delicate habit, his complexion rather fair than otherwise, and his countenance very expressive. He betrayed some symptoms of alarm on the first arrival of Colonel Wellesley and his friends, but these soon disappeared ; though he shewed himself upon the whole rather of a timid disposition, from having suffered considerably from restraint. He soon, however, began to feel the importance of his situation, and to confirm the good opinion formed of him at first ; and, during the subsequent ceremony of his inauguration, his conduct was so remarkably decorous, as scarcely to have been expected.

It was then determined on, instead of bringing them to Seringapatam, that the ancient town of Mysore, as the most eligible situation for the seat of government, should be appointed for their residence : and on the 30th of June Colonel Wellesley, assisted by his brother Commissioners, had the gratification of formally placing the young Rajah upon the throne of his ancestors.

In this ceremony every attention was paid to the prejudices of the native inhabitants ; and the Brah-

mans having fixed on the month as the most auspicious moment for placing Kistna Rajah Oodiaver in his new sovereignty, the Rajah and his family were removed from Seringapatam to Mysore, where the best preparations were made for their accommodation that circumstances would admit of, whilst General Harris, attended by his suite, and an escort of European cavalry, arrived there in order to preside on the occasion.

On the auspicious morning, Colonel Wellesley and the other members of the Commission, accompanied by Meer Allum Bahauder, the Nizam's General, and his son Meer Dowran, and preceded by the 12th regiment of foot, proceeded to the Rajah's residence, where the ceremony of inauguration took place before a great crowd of spectators, so happy at the circumstance, that, as the Commissioners declared, it would have been difficult to describe the joy which was visible in their countenances.

That part of the ceremony which consisted of placing the Rajah on the Musnud was performed by General Harris, as senior Commissioner, and by Meer Allum, each of whom took a hand of the youthful prince, to whom, soon after, General Harris presented the seal and signet; the whole taking place under three volleys of musquetry from the troops on the spot, and a royal salute from the guns of Seringapatam.

After this arrangement Colonel Wellesley was confirmed by the Governor-General in the command of Seringapatam, as a trust of great delicacy and importance, and which, in his public dispatches, he said he considered as his duty to repose in a person of approved military talents and integrity.

The whole of these important arrangements, in which Colonel Wellesley took so distinguished and so active a share, being thus happily finished, it is by no means irrelevant, in forming a judgment of

his services, to look at the actual state of India in consequence of them.

From the period of the first war with Hyder Ali, the tranquillity of the Company's possessions had been continually menaced by the Chiefs of Mysore; and even in the intervals of peace which succeeded the various contests with Hyder and Tippoo, the security of all our territory in the Carnatic had been very uncertain: for, notwithstanding these cessations of actual hostilities, still the designs of those Princes had been uniformly hostile, and the baneful effects of this perpetual state of uncertainty and solicitude had not only put the Company to an extraordinary expence, but had been felt by the natives themselves, in the decay of agriculture, and of the arts of peaceful industry.

To this it must be added, that the other consequences of this hostile feeling were, a rebellious spirit in certain descriptions of the Company's native subjects, a diminution of British influence and consideration at the native courts, the rising hopes of the turbulent and disaffected, the decline of public and private credit, and the constant necessity of guarding against surprise from the sudden aggression of an enemy, whom no clemency or moderation could conciliate, and no faith could bind.

The fall of Seringapatam, therefore, under all the circumstances which accompanied that event, placed the whole kingdom of Mysore, with all its resources, at the disposal of the company; and thus, the only power in India to which the French could look for assistance, or which could be deemed formidable to British interests, was now completely destroyed. Other advantages might also be expected to, and did, flow from these events; as they served as a salutary lesson to the various native princes of India, proving to them the danger of violating their public engagements, and of inviting foreign invasion, for the prosecution

secution of schemes of ambition and hatred against the British power.

The balance of power of the whole empire was thus thrown into the hands of Britain, presenting an irresistible force, and enabling her, either to concentrate the most efficient part of the resources of the Mysore in one mass, for the single object of her own defence, against any possible combination; or to throw the same weight into that scale which might appear to require such an aid in order to preserve the general tranquillity, on the solid basis of justice and moderation.

The consequences, in a pecuniary point of view, to the company, by the final arrangements of territory, were very great. There was an augmentation of direct revenue of upwards of two and a half millions sterling, whilst the subsidiary treaty with the new Rajah gave them as much more; the whole making a neat annual increase of about four millions.

Nor did the country itself suffer; for it is a pleasing reflection, that the inhabitants soon returned to their ancient customs; the deserted villages were soon re-peopled; and, under the fostering hands of British protection, the fertile environs of Seringapatam soon began to flourish in a renewed state of peaceful cultivation.

The army being anxious to offer the Earl of Mornington, as they expressed themselves, some mark of its high esteem for the wisdom which had prepared and directed the whole operations, caused a star and badge, of the order of St. Patrick, to be prepared, in which as many of the jewels as could be found suitable were taken from the treasury of Tippoo. These were inclosed in a golden box and sent to General Harris, with a request that he would transmit them to the Governor-General.

His Lordship's answer on this occasion was highly honourable to his feelings; and he expressed himself sincerely desirous of accepting the gift of the army,

and of wearing it as an emblem of *their* glory, and of their good will; he also expressed himself satisfied that it never was in the contemplation of the legislature of Great Britain to prohibit the acceptance of such honorary marks of distinction; but as a careful examination of the whole business had convinced him that he could not accept of it without violating the *letter* of existing statutes, and creating a precedent, which might hereafter become the source of injury to the public service, he, therefore, was under the necessity of declining this flattering mark of their approbation.

This self denial of the noble Governor-General was duly appreciated at home; and he not only shared fully in the thanks of the nation, expressed through both Houses of Parliament, to all those connected with the brilliant conduct and issue of the war, but also received a signal mark of his Sovereign's favour and approval by an elevation to a Marquisate and a British barony.

The tranquillity of India, dependant upon those transactions, permitted Colonel Wellesley, for a short time, to enjoy his well earned fame,* amidst the blandishments of peace; but we shall now see him engaging in a more arduous warfare as a commanding officer, and with all the responsibility attached to that character.

In the year 1800, the tranquillity of the Mysore country became much disturbed by a freebooter, of the name of *Dhoondiah Waugh*, whose force soon increased to such an alarming extent, as to threaten the security of the Company's possessions, and also the territories of their allies, on the western borders of the

* In the General Orders of the 5th of May, he was particularly noticed. "On referring to the progress of the siege, so many occasions have occurred for applause to the troops, that it is difficult to particularise individual merit; but the gallant manner in which the Honourable Colonel Wellesley (with others) conducted the attacks on the several outworks and posts of the enemy deserves to be particularly recorded."

the Peninsula. It was necessary, therefore, to send a force for the suppression of this predatory system; and the Governor-General attached such a degree of political importance to the whole transaction, and reposed such implicit confidence in the talents of his brother, as to give the command of the expedition to Colonel Wellesley, from whose exertions, both political and military, he expected the most solid and extensive advantages would accrue.

Colonel Wellesley, therefore, having assembled a sufficient British and native force, proceeded on his mission; and crossing the Malpurba at Jellahaul, on the 3d of September, entered the territories of the Nizam at Hanamsagur on the 5th. Colonel Stevenson, who had a force under his command to co-operate in this service, being obliged to cross the river in boats, was not able to advance until the day preceding; and as it appeared probable that when Dhoondiah should be pressed, by the whole of the force on the northern side of the Duab, he would return into Savanore by Kannaghery and Bopul, and would thus impede the communication; or, if favoured by the Patans of Cannoul, and the Polygars on the right bank of the Tumbundra, he would pass that river, and would enter the territories of Mysore, Colonel Wellesley determined to lead his detachment to the southward, and to prevent the execution of either of these designs, if he had them. He also resolved, afterwards, to push him to the eastward, and to take such advantage of his movements as might turn up, while Colonel Stevenson should move by Moodgul and Nohsry, at the distance of between 12 and 20 miles from the Kistna, and the Mahratta and Moghul cavalry then collected in one body between the British force and the corps of the freebooters.

In pursuance of this plan he arrived with his little army at Kannagherry on the 7th, and on the 8th moved with the cavalry to Baswapoor, arriving on the following day at Yepalperwy; the infantry being

at

at Howley and Shinnoor, about 15 miles in the rear. On the 9th in the morning Dhoondiah moved from Malgherry, a place about 25 miles from Rachoor, at which he had been encamped for some days, towards the Kistna; but on his road having seen Colonel Stevenson's camp, he returned and encamped about 9 miles in front of Colonel Wellesley's force; it was clear, however, that he did not know of the near approach of the British, believing them still to be at Shinnoor.

On the 10th in the morning, the Colonel moved forward with his force, and met Dhoondiah's army at a place called Conaghull, about six miles from Yepalperwy, being then on their march to the westward, apparently with the design of passing between the British and native detachments. At this period Dhoondiah's army consisted of 5000 cavalry, which Colonel Wellesley immediately attacked with his little force, consisting only of the 19th and 25th dragoons, and 1st and 2d regiments of native cavalry.

Dhoondia was strongly posted, with his rear and left flank, covered by the village and rock of Conaghull, and he stood the attack for some time with apparent firmness; but such was the rapidity and determination of the charge, made by the four regiments, which their gallant and judicious commander was obliged to form in one line, in order to bear some proportion in length to that which they had to attack, that the whole of the enemy's line gave way, and were pursued for many miles with great slaughter. In the retreat many, among whom was Dhoondiah himself, fell: and the whole of the remainder were dispersed, and scattered in small parties over the face of the country. Part of the enemy's baggage was still remaining in his camp, about three miles from Conaghull. The Colonel returned thither, and got possession of all the elephants, camels, and every thing they had.

This complete defeat and dispersion of the rebels,
and,

Result of the attack

and, above all, the death of Dhooudia, put a complete end to the warfare, and freed the government from all fears for the tranquillity of the country ; and the whole business was most handsomely completed by Colonel Stevenson, who at Deodrag, on the very day of the action, came up with, and took, the only two remaining guns the enemy possessed, together with a quantity of baggage, all the remaining camels, bullocks, &c. throwing the whole body into confusion, taking many prisoners, and dispersing the rest.

In all the details of the action Colonel Wellesley, modestly evading all praise to himself, gave the greatest credit to the officers and men, and particularly to Colonel Stevenson, to the movements of whose detachment he considered himself as indebted for the opportunity of destroying one who might have become a formidable opponent of the British government.

In the public orders subsequent to this event, the Governor-General in council took an opportunity of expressing to Colonel Wellesley the high sense entertained of the judicious arrangements made by him for the supply of his army, of the indefatigable activity displayed in its operations, and of the distinguished ability manifested in those masterly dispositions, which had so fortunately terminated in the discomfiture and utter defeat of the enemy. These orders also noticed the patience with which the officers and troops had endured a series of fatiguing service, the spirit and zeal which had distinguished all, and also the matchless bravery with which their small force had acted against an enemy so much superior in number.

SECTION III.

Colonel Wellesley destined for new services, but resumes his command in the Mysore—Preliminary observations—Gradations of military rank—Rise of the Mahratta State—Anecdotes of Scindiah—Scindiah's politics—Attacks on the power of the Peishwah—Liberal policy of the Marquis of Wellesley—Subsidiary treaties with the country powers—Balance of power in Hindustan—French Intrigues—Anecdotes of Monsieur Perron—French cruelty towards the great Mogul—Anecdotes of Holkar—Preparations for war—Army assembled under Lieutenant-General Stewart—Lord Clive gives the command of a detached force to Major-General Wellesley—March of General Wellesley's force towards Poonah—Arrival at Poonah—Grateful reception by the natives—Reinstatement of the Peishwah—Political and Diplomatic power granted to General Wellesley—Force of Scindiah and the confederates—Evasive conduct of the Mahratta chiefs—March towards Ahundnegou—Attack of that fortress—Storming of the Pettah—Surrender of the fort—Anecdotes of the attack—March of the army in pursuit of the confederates—Capture of Jahnepoor—Complimentary general orders to Major General Wellesley and his little army—Military operations and advance to Maulnah—March towards *Assye*—*Battle of Assye*—Military anecdotes of the Battle—Total defeat of the enemy—Insidious proposals of the enemy—Notes of the army under General Lake—Battle of Allyghur—Capture of that fortress—Battle of Laswarrah—Restoration of the great Mogul—Anecdotes of General Lake—Observations political and military—Military monument at Calcutta—Further operations—Capture of Asser Ghur—Gallant battle of *Argaum*—Siege and Storm of Gawilghur—Military delineations—General Wellesley concludes treaties with the confederate Rajahs—General view of the successes of the war—Military and civil compliments to Major General Wellesley—War with Holkar—Capture of Chandore—Gratitude of the natives to the Major General—Elected Knight of the Bath—Return to England—&c. &c. &c.

TRANQUILLITY being restored in India, by the transactions with Dhoondiah, and his final overthrow, the great and comprehensive mind of the Governor-General meditated an expedition to Batavia, to be commanded by General Baird. In the event of the success of this enterprise, a part of the force was to have been detached for the purpose of attacking the Mauritius.

Egyptian expedition.

Mauritius and the Isle of Bourbon. Colonel Wellesley was destined to this important duty. Accordingly in the month of December 1800, he was recalled from his command in the Mysore, and quitted his government of Seringapatam, followed by the good wishes and prayers of the native inhabitants, and the sincerest testimonies of friendship and respect from the troops under his command; and was succeeded by Colonel Stevenson.

From some strange misconception of the powers of the Governor-General, the necessary co-operation of Admiral Rainier, then commanding in the Indian Seas, could not be obtained for this great and desirable object; and it accordingly fell to the ground, certainly very much to the detriment and injury of the British interests in India: but part of the troops, to the amount of 5000 men, proceeded to Egypt under General Baird, to act with the army there.

This circumstance enabled the Governor-General to avail himself once more of the services of Colonel Wellesley in the Mysore; and he was accordingly remanded to the command of the forces in that country, and to his government of Seringapatam; to which capital he returned in May 1801, according to the following extract from General Orders at Madras:

“Fort St. George, 28th of April 1801.

“Circumstances having occurred to enable the Right Honourable the Governor in council, to avail himself again of the services of the Honourable Colonel Wellesley; his Lordship in council is pleased to direct that Colonel Wellesley shall return to Seringapatam, and resume the command of the forces in the Mysore,” &c.

It appears that it had been intended that Colonel Wellesley should have had a command in the expedition to Egypt; and he was actually gazetted as

Brigadier-General in that country, on the 25th of July 1801; but circumstances, unnecessary to be mentioned here, had changed his destination.*

In every situation in which we have hitherto seen Colonel Wellesley engaged we have always seen him equal to its duties; but a new scene was now opening, in which he had to attempt the two arduous characters of Diplomatist, and Commander-in-Chief, having attained the rank of Major-General on the 29th of April 1802.†

To render the subsequent transactions intelligible, it is necessary to take a slight view of the rise of the Mahratta power, which has now, for so many years, formed a strong and troublesome source of opposition to the general tranquillity of India, reducing some of its finest provinces to a state of distress arising from famine and all its concomitant evils: evils, which can only be fully appreciated by those who have witnessed their effects.

It has, indeed, been the fashion of late to represent England as the oppressor of India; but when we reflect

* It is a curious fact that a letter from Lord Elgin arrived in this country dated the 5th of June 1801, in which he says that Lord Keith had received a dispatch from Admiral Blanket of the 6th of May in that year, stating the arrival of General Baird and *Colonel Wellesley* with the Indian army.

† The military career of the Marquis of Wellington, up to his rank as Major-General, is as follows:

Ensign in the 41st regiment, 25th December 1787.

Lieutenant 23rd January 1788.

Lieutenant . . 12th light dragoons, 25th June 1789.

Captain . . . 58th (or Rutlandshire regiment) 30th June 1791.

Captain . . . 18th light dragoons, 31st October 1792.

Major . . . 33d regiment, 30th April 1793.

Lieutenant-Colonel in the 33d (or West Riding) regiment, 30th September 1793.

Colonel in the army, 3d May 1796.

Brigadier-General in Egypt, 17th July 1801.

Major-General, 29th April 1802.

reflect that the various provinces now under the British flag are smiling on all hands with industry and plenty, whilst the *independent* ones, *as they are called*, are torn by intestine divisions, and by the claims of contending chieftains, it is not perhaps going too far to say, that, as conquerors, we have been the saviours of India: for it must be recollected that although we have dethroned *Nabobs*, yet *these* were usurpers, whilst it has, at the same time, been as much our policy as our duty to replace the true and lawful sovereigns upon the native thrones. In furtherance of which policy the names of the Great Mogul himself, of the Rajah of Mysore, the Peishwah, the Coorga Rajah, and many others, will always be noticeable in history.

The predatory states, composing the Mahratta power, have never been united under any regular form of confederation, or by any system of constitutional laws, or of established treaties, which can be compared to any imperial constitution, or general confederation, existing in Europe. Still, however, a certain degree of union has taken place from the period of their first success, and throughout the whole decline of the empire of the Mogul, producing a vague and indefinite sentiment of common interest, founded principally upon their common origin, and their religious and civil customs. Ever since the destruction of the Mogul power, the same species of indefinite, yet acknowledged, confederacy has continued; and, by its influence and co-operation, has enabled many of the adventurous chiefs to establish states possessed of much political power, and supported by a considerable share of military resource.

This confederated power has always been under the guidance of a supreme chief, called the Peishwah, ever since the middle of the seventeenth century, when first established by *Sevajee*, great grandson of

Bhanga Bhooslah, who was (by an obscure woman of a tribe called Bhooslah) an illegitimate son of Rana Bheem, Prince of the Rajpoot state of Oudipoor, and descended from the Rajahs of Chittore, the most ancient of the Hindoo princes.

It is not our object, nor within our limits, to follow up the various revolutions of this state; it is sufficient to notice, that, in consequence of different usurpations, the descendant of the first founder, now Rajah of Sattarah, though treated with great distinction and respect, has lost all but the shadow of political power, being merely a nominal sovereign, and nearly a prisoner of state, confined, indeed, within his own fortress upon a stated allowance, whilst the Peishwah, the present administrator of government, has the civil executive authority of the state, an office which is always filled up by the choice of the more powerful chiefs.

At this period Dowlut Rao Scindiah,* a powerful chieftain, had impaired the authority of the Peishwah to such an extent, as to have completely frustrated every benefit which Lord Cornwallis intended to secure to the British interests by the alliance with that
supreme

* Scindiah was originally a Rajpoot, born in the village of Chemaconda, near Poonah. His father subsisted for some time by the cultivation of some lands; but, being dissatisfied with the profession of a husbandman, went and entered into the cavalry of Bajee Rao, then a mere trooper, hiring himself and men to those who would pay him best. Bajee finding him wise, intelligent, and discreet, took him from his humble station; and his ingenuity and sagacity soon obtained him the command of a small troop, from which he rose to consequence. When the Mogul empire was torn by intestine commotions Bajee Rao was detached with a large army into the various districts of Malwah, &c. to dispossess the Emperor's officers, and to usurp the government, which he faithfully executed, making the servants of the Emperor tributary; and arranging the whole administration for his employer, the Raja Sahu. On this occasion Ranojee (Scindiah's father) having performed several very gallant exploits, he was exalted to a high command,

Scindiah's politics.

supreme officer: for he absolutely usurped the government of Poonah, and had established himself in the vicinity of that city with a powerful army, the regular infantry and artillery of which had been disciplined, and were then principally commanded by French officers.

This influence of Scindiah had been felt by the Marquis of Wellesley, even as far back as 1798, when he wished to prevail on the Mahratta powers to fulfil the conditions of the subsisting alliance against Mysore, in spite of the then otherways friendly intentions of the Peishwah himself, and several of the other chiefs. In fact, the hostile chiefs had actually maintained a secret and treacherous correspondence with Tippoo until his fall; and even after that period by means of emissaries (under the direction and controul of Scindiah, who was then absolutely paramount in the durbar at Poonah,) had attempted to excite the dethroned family, and the remaining pensioned officers of the late Sultaun, to commence hostilities against the English, and foment a rebellion in the Mysore. Still the Governor-General, by a safe and liberal policy, (and who had already offered a part of Tippoo's states to the Mahrattas, though the offer was refused through Scindiah's influence) attempted by propositions of the most amicable nature, both to Scindiah and the Peishwah, to ward off the expected hostilities on the part of the Mahratta powers; but these offers were again all rejected, through the policy of Scindiah, who, depending upon his military power and on French assistance, seized the government of Poonah, the capital of the Mahratta empire, and absolutely prohibited the Peishwa from

mand, and rewarded with large grants of land. Dying soon after, he left two legitimate sons, and two illegitimate, the youngest of whom was Mha Rajah Scindiah, who, on the death of his three brothers during various disturbances, inherited the paternal estates, and aimed at sovereignty in the dominions of the Mogul, his master.

from cementing his ties of alliance with the company ; and even compelled him to violate his good faith with Britain, at the expense of his reputation, and to the certain subversion of his own power as a sovereign prince.

At this period the destruction of the hostile force of Mysore, accompanied by the consolidation of our alliances with the Nizam, had left us without a single rival in India, the Mahratta power excepted ; nor could even they become formidable under any circumstances, except their union under an enterprising chief. Such a crisis, however, had now approached ; and it was obviously required, by common prudence, to check its influence and consequent baneful effects as soon as possible.

The Governor-General, therefore, having in 1800 formed a subsidiary treaty with the Nizam, at the court of Hyderabad, it was attempted to extend it to the Mahratta chiefs ; and, in 1802, was actually put in force with the *Gwicknar* ; its operation attaching that state to the British interest, and securing to the company a valuable and important territorial establishment in the populous and maritime province of Guzarat.

Even this partial arrangement appeared to afford some security for preserving a due balance between the several states, forming the Mahratta confederacy, and also to tend in some measure to the prevention of any dangerous union among them ; but the then disturbed state of the Mahratta empire had offered a strong temptation to France, to attempt the favourite object of establishing a dominion within the Indian peninsula ; and a considerable force for that purpose had been introduced under the command of Monsieur Perron,* who at that period possessed the sovereign command

* This gentleman came to India as a midshipman during the period of the American war, and served there under Suffrein. Having travelled

command of some extensive countries, on the left bank of the Indus, with a revenue of near two millions sterling. At this period, indeed, there were still a few British officers in the service of Scindiah; but it was well known that Perron only waited the arrival of some more of his countrymen, in order to dismiss the whole of them. In fact, Perron at that moment held both the person and nominal authority of the unfortunate Shah Aullum, the deposed Moghul emperor, in the most abject and degrading subjection, for the office of Vakeel, or Viceroy, being held by the Peishwa, Scindiah as his deputy nominally, and real master, administered the affairs of the Moghul empire, whilst the fiction was carried to such a length that Perron called his army the "Imperial army," and himself a servant and subject of the Great Moghul.

By

travelled into the upper provinces, he entered into the service of the Rana of Gohud, under the orders of a Mr. Sangster. While in this service, on a very small salary, he married Mademoiselle Deridan, sister of an officer, whose family resided at Pondicherry. After the destruction of the Gohud Rana, he entered into the service of Scindiah, as a quarter-master serjeant, on the pay of sixty rupees a month, and in a corps commanded by M. Lostoneaux. When Gholan Cadir was taken in attempting to escape from Mearut, where he was besieged during some of the intestine disturbances, Lostoneaux is supposed to have got possession of the saddle, in which that Rohilla chief had concealed all the valuable jewels which he had plundered from the palace at Delhi. With this booty he made his escape to Europe; and having also carried off the money assigned him for the payment of his corps, M. Pillet, whom he had left in charge of them, being unable to satisfy the demands of the soldiery, had nearly lost his life.

After the escape of Lostoneaux, Perron received the command of a battalion from Rana Khan, Scindiah's general; but being reduced on the return of the army into cantonments, he was left without employ until the arrival of General de Boigne, who, forming a brigade in Scindiah's service, gave Perron the command of the Burhampoor battalion. Shortly after this he lost a hand by the bursting of a hand grenade, whilst trying some experiments; but his skill was such that he succeeded General de Boigne in the command of his brigade, and signalized himself much in the various operations of Scindiah's army previous to the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain.

By all these means, it is well known that the French government intended to make the unfortunate emperor the principal instrument of their plans against British India, and to avail themselves of the authority of his name to re-establish their influence and power.

All the attempts on the part of the Governor-General, to re-establish the independence of the Peishwa, were now found impracticable; yet notwithstanding this, even as far down as 1802, the Marquis determined to renew his negotiations for the conclusion of an improved system of alliance with the court of Poonah, as the increased distractions of that state seemed favourable to British interests, in consequence of the recent successes of Holker against Scindiah.

Holkar, however, was a mere adventurer, an illegitimate son of a late chief; and the only boon which could be held out to him was that of a secure and permanent establishment under British protection, instead of his risking his all for the mere chance of acquiring power and plunder at Poonah.*

But

* Holker was the son of a native of the Dekan, a man so poor that it was with the greatest labour and difficulty he was able to maintain his family. Milhar Rao Holkar, the son, becoming an orphan at six years of age, went to his uncle, who, with six looty or irregular horsemen, was in the service of Rajah Sehuba, of the Saho family. On entering his ninth year, his uncle, who had a large flock of sheep and goats, consigned them to him for pasturage; in consequence of which, early every morning, he took them out to graze, returning again with them in the evening. One day, whilst carrying him his victuals, the uncle perceived his nephew asleep, whilst a large black snake had exalted and spread his head over him like an umbrella to shade him from the rays of the sun. The snake retired to its hole on the uncle's approach, who was in the utmost astonishment, but from thenceforward firmly believed, that his nephew would become a very great man.

In consequence of this he awoke him, carried him home, dispensed with his further attendance on the sheep; and taking from him a written promise, that he would befriend him whenever he rose to eminence, he

Military force assembled.

But Scindiah still maintained his power over the Peishwah, and his troops were actually engaged with those of that chief, in opposition to Holkar on the 25th of October 1802, when Holkar was victorious.

In consequence of this defeat, the Peishwah was anxious to avail himself of British protection, and soon after fled from his dominions, under the patronage of the government of Bombay, being conveyed in an English ship from one of his own ports to the strong fortress of Severn Droog on the coast of Malabar.

It was now determined to resort to warlike measures, to restrain the power of the hostile chiefs, to re-establish the Peishwah, and to restore order and tranquillity throughout the north of India; measures as necessary for the happiness of the distressed natives, as for the welfare of British interests; and, accordingly, a considerable force was collected from the different presidencies, and assembled at *Hurryhur*, on the north-west frontier of the Mysore, under the command of Lieutenant-General Stewart, amounting to 3581 European and native cavalry, 390 artillery, 2845 European infantry, including the 33d, and 1212 native infantry, together with 40 field pieces, besides smaller guns, and a battering train.

On the 27th February 1803, Lieutenant-General Stewart was ordered to adopt the necessary measures for the march of the British troops, into the Mahratta territory, and to detach such a force as he thought sufficient for that purpose.

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he procured his admission into the service of the Sehuha Rajah, as a kind of Porter.

The young Holkar, in the course of a short time, rendered himself capable and useful; and was, among others, allowed to approach his master; after which he obtained a command; and, as the oriental historians say, being born under a fortunate planet, rose to dignity and power.

His wife, Thelia Bai, among other sons, brought him one of such a vicious disposition, and such a great debauchee, that she had him trampled to death by an elephant, and his only daughter burnt herself at the tomb of her husband.

The high opinion formed of Major-General Wellesley by his brother now displayed itself; for we are told in the memoir drawn up by the Marquis himself, that this command of the advanced detachment necessarily required the united exertion of considerable military talent, and of great political experience and discretion. Indeed this high opinion was not confined to the Marquis; for Lord Clive also, (then Governor of the Madras Presidency, and within whose limits of government the army was formed,) was convinced that the trust could not be confided with equal prospects of advantage, to any other person than the subject of our biography, whose extensive local knowledge, and personal influence among the Mahratta chieftains, (acquired by his conduct in the command of the Mysore, and by his subsequent victories over Dhoondia, and the other refractory chiefs,) appeared best calculated to ensure success to the future important operations.

Lord Clive, therefore, gave instructions to Lieutenant-General Stewart to that purpose; and the general having directed a detachment from the main army to be assembled ready for action, consisting of one regiment of European, and three regiments of native cavalry, two regiments of European and six battalions of native infantry, with a due proportion of artillery, amounting altogether to about 9707 men, together with 2500 of the Rajah of Mysore's cavalry, the command was given to the Hon. Major-General Wellesley, for the purpose of advancing into the Mahratta territory.

The Major-General advanced from Hurryhur on the 3d of March 1803, and arrived at Tumbudra river on the 12th, which he then crossed; his march through the whole of the Mahratta territory being most successful; for the British troops were every where received as friends, and almost all the chiefs in the vicinity of the route of the detachment, joined with

with their forces, and accompanied the British army to Poonah.

This long march at a season of the year very unfavorable, and performed without loss or distress, must be considered as highly honourable to the commanding officer, though certainly much aided by the amiable conduct of the Jagheerdars and of the inhabitants, which must however be considered as principally attributable to the fame which the British army had acquired in the campaign under his command against Dhoondia Waugh. The principal causes of success, indeed, were the ability, temper, activity, and skill, of the General, which were most eminently displayed in directing the system of the supply and movements of the troops, in his prevention of plunder and of all excesses, and in his conciliating the inhabitants of the various districts through which his route was pursued.

On the 15th of April Holkar, now the principal chief of the rebellious party, had reached Chandore (about one hundred and thirty miles N. N. E. from Poonah) whilst Amrut Rao alone remained in that city with a force of about 1500 men. At the same time, a subsidiary force under Colonel Stevenson, sent by the Nizam, had arrived at Akloos, a town only eight miles from the Neera river, and but a short distance from the army of General Wellesley, who immediately reinforced the Colonel with the Scotch Brigade.

As Holkar's position was now taken up during a retreat from Poonah, it appeared unnecessary to the general to advance all his troops to that city, for the purpose of effecting the restoration of the Peishwah; and as the country was already much exhausted, and there prevailed a great deficiency of forage, he determined to dispose of a great portion of his army in such cantonments, that the whole might procure forage and subsistence, and at the same time be ready to form a junction with facility, whenever that

Rapid march to Poonah.

might be necessary. In pursuance of this plan, he directed Colonel Stevenson to break up from his position, and proceed to Gardoon, where the Nizam's troops were to be quartered, and then to place himself with the British subsidiary troops in a position towards Poonah, and on the Beemah river, near its junction with the Mota mola.

Previous to this, the Major General had received information from Colonel Close, the British resident at Poonah, that it was the intention of Amrut Rao to plunder and burn that city as soon as the British troops should appear; and the Peishwah also, then at Basseen, sent an urgent request that he would dispatch part of the Peishwah's army towards that place in order to provide for the safety of some part of his Highness's family still resident there.

As soon, therefore, as he had completed his arrangements, he continued his march to Poonah, by the road of Baramooty, determined, as soon as his army should arrive within the distance of a forced march, to advance himself with the British cavalry and the Mahratta troops belonging to the Peishwah, well knowing that the latter were not of themselves sufficient to frustrate the designs of Amrut Rao.

Having soon after received intelligence that on the 18th of April, Amrut Rao was still in the vicinity of Poonah, and that he had removed the Peishwah's family to the fortress of Saoghur, a measure generally considered as preparatory to the destruction of the city, he marched on the 19th of April at night over a most rugged country, and through a very difficult pass, called the little Bhoorghaut, about forty miles from Poonah, and arrived there on the 20th, at the head of his cavalry, having marched a total distance of about sixty miles in thirty-two hours.

Alarmed by the rapidity of the march of the British troops, Amrut Rao as soon as he heard of their approach on the morning of the 20th, retired with precipitation, not having time to put his plans in execution,

ention, for the destruction of the place; whilst Major General Wellesley, and his gallant few, were welcomed by the small number of remaining inhabitants as their deliverers. No sooner indeed was the intelligence spread, than all those who had deserted their habitations, and fled to the hills in the vicinity during the usurpation of Holkar, afforded a convincing proof of the confidence they reposed in the British name, by returning immediately to their houses, and quietly resuming their usual avocations.

On this occasion the Marquis of Wellesley justly observed that it was a circumstance equally honourable to the British character, and propitious to the British interests in that quarter of India, that the first effects of our influence, in the Mahratta territories, should have been displayed in rescuing the capital of that empire from impending ruin, and its inhabitants from violence and rapine.

Arrangements having now been made at Bombay for sending an escort of about 2000 men under Colonel Murray to protect the Peishwah, in his journey towards his capital, his Highness passed General Wellesley's camp on the 6th of May; and on the 13th, attended by his brother and a numerous train of the principal chiefs of the empire, he proceeded to the city, when having entered his palace he resumed his seat upon the musnud, or throne, with the usual ceremonies. During this procession, in order to heighten the effect, a salute was fired by the British troops, which was answered from the fortress of Saoghur, and which ceremony was followed by the same from the surrounding hill forts, &c.

Scindiah was now again in arms, with the professed intention of opposing Holkar; but the Governor General was doubtful of his purposes, having reason to believe that a confederacy actually existed between those chiefs, in union with the Rajah of Berar. The circumstances which took place in the ensuing months confirmed this opinion; and, accordingly,

ingly, in this very delicate crisis of affairs, it appeared absolutely necessary, on the part of the Marquis, to unite the controul of all political affairs in the Dekan, connected with the negotiations then going on, and with the movements of the army, under a distinct local authority, subject indeed to the Governor General in council, but possessing full powers to conclude upon the spot whatever arrangements might become necessary, either for the final settlement of peace, or for the active prosecution of the war. It was obvious then that these powers ought to be held by the commanding officer of the troops; and accordingly the Marquis, as he himself states, determined on the 26th of June, to vest them in Major General Wellesley, whose already established influence amongst the Mahratta chiefs, and intimate knowledge of his sentiments concerning the British interest in the Mahratta empire, were particularly calculated to enable that officer to execute the arduous trust reposed on him, with the greatest benefit to the public welfare.

The Major General immediately commenced his political operations, and on the 18th of July addressed a letter to the British resident directing him to state to both Scindiah, and the Berar Rajah, the anxiety with which the British government desired the preservation of peace; and also to observe that the only proof which could be accepted of the sincerity of their amicable professions was the immediate disbanding of their armies, and their return from the Nizam's frontier to their own capitals; and the resident had further orders to say that if these terms were not complied with, he had orders to quit Scindiah's camp without delay.

Several evasive attempts were made by the two chieftains to avoid an immediate settlement: however at length on the 31st of July they sent an answer proposing, (either with barefaced impudence, or with a degree of ignorance almost inconceivable,)

Enemy's effective force.

able,) that they would retire from the position which they occupied, but that at the same time General Wellesley should commence his march also to the usual stations of the British army; adding that *on the same day* on which the British troops should reach the stations of Bombay, Madras, and Seringapatam, (though the relative distances differed from 1049 to 321 miles,) the Mahratta confederates would encamp the united armies of Scindiah and the Berar Rajah, at Boorhanpore, a city belonging to Scindiah, and *fifty* miles from the Nizam's frontier.

To go through all their subsequent evasions is here unnecessary; it is sufficient to state that the whole was a system of procrastination for their own purposes; and that, after their denial of our just requisitions, it was evident that the defence and security of our own rights, and those of our allies, could only be maintained by an instant recourse to arms, against the united forces of those two Rajahs. The season too was so far advanced as to press for decision, particularly as the actual prevalence of the rainy Monsoon, in those provinces which must become the theatre of war, was considered as more favourable to our operations than to those of the natives, who are unwilling to engage in hostilities at that period.*

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* By the most accurate accounts received on the subject of the force of the enemy, it appears that towards the close of the month of July, the troops opposed to Major General Wellesley, under the immediate command of Scindiah and of the Rajah of Berar, in the field, amounted to about 33,500 cavalry, 10,500 regular infantry, 500 match-lock men, 500 rocket men, and 100 pieces of ordnance. Two Brigades under Monsieur Dundernague and Major Brownrigg, amounting to twelve battalions with a large train of artillery, had been ordered to Hindustan, and Major Polhman's brigade had been directed to return to Boorhanpore, leaving with Scindiah only eight battalions consisting of about 4500 men; the Rajah of Berar's infantry amounted to 8000 men. These forces were posted at Julgong, a place at the foot of the Adjunttee Ghaut, in the Dekan; and, in addition to

It is not necessary to detail the various co-operations intended by the troops under General Lake, though they will be noticed in the progress of the narrative; it is therefore a point most connected with our main subject to state, that Major General Wellesley having received information, on the 6th of August, of the failure of the British resident's negotiation, was determined to commence hostilities without delay, but was prevented from moving by a very heavy rain, which had lasted three days, and had rendered the road from Walkee to Ahmednaghur totally impassable. On the 7th it cleared up so much as to permit him to commence his march the next day, on which morning he had dispatched a messenger to the Kellahdar of Ahmednagur, requiring him to surrender his fort.

On his arrival in the vicinity of the *Pettah*, (or town protected by the fortress) General Wellesley offered protection to the inhabitants; but it was refused in consequence of the place being in the possession of a body of Arabs, supported by a battalion of Scindiah's native infantry, and a body of horse encamped

to the troops already stated, Scindiah had an advanced party of a few thousand horse dispersed through the Adjunttee hills. The force under the immediate command of Monsieur Perron, Scindiah's General in the northern provinces of Hindustan, amounted to about sixteen or seventeen thousand regular and disciplined infantry, and a well proportioned and numerous train of artillery; together with a body of irregular troops, and from fifteen to twenty thousand horse. The head quarters of Perron's force were established near Coull, in a commanding situation on the frontier of the British possessions, and on the most vulnerable part of our extensive oriental empire.

The local situation of Scindiah's territories, and the nature of his military force in Hindustan also, constituted at all times a serious danger to British interest; for part of those territories were situated between the Jumna and the Ganges, thus interrupting our line of defence in that quarter, whilst some of his principal posts were introduced into the centre of our dominions, which with the possession of Agra, Delhi, and of the right bank of the Jumna, enabled him to command nearly the whole line of our north western frontier.

Vide Wellesley's History of the War.

Assault of the Pettah.

encamped in an open space between the fort and the pettah. He immediately determined to storm the latter place, and accordingly attacked it with the picquets of the infantry, reinforced by the flank companies of the 78th regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Harness; a second attack took place under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, with the 74th regiment and the 1st battalion of the 8th; whilst Captain Vesey, with the flank companies of the 74th, and the 1st battalion of the 3d, formed a third point of assault.

The wall surrounding the Pettah was found to be very lofty, and defended by towers; but then it had no rampart, so that when the troops had ascended to the attack, they had no ground on which they could stand; and the Arabs, who occupied the towers, defended their posts with their accustomed obstinacy. They were, however, at length obliged to quit the wall; but flying to the houses they continued a destructive fire upon the assailants, who were also attacked by Scindiah's regular infantry after they had entered the Pettah; notwithstanding this, our troops were in a short time completely masters of the whole place, though with the loss of some brave officers and men. The loss of the enemy, indeed, was much greater, as may be judged from the nature of the contest; and on that very evening all that part of their force which was not absolutely necessary for the defence of the fort went off to the northward, accompanied by the greatest part of the Arabs.

With his accustomed activity the Major-General reconnoitred the ground in the vicinity of the fort on the 9th, and on the evening of that day Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, with five companies of the 74th regiment, and the 2d battalion of the 12th, seized a position within four hundred yards of it, on which, in the course of the night, a battery was constructed for four guns, to take off the defences on the side on which the principal attack was proposed. At day
6. a light

light on the morning of the 10th this battery was opened; and it was so judiciously placed, and was served with such effect, as to induce the Killedar to propose a cessation, in order that he might send a person to treat for a capitulation. General Wellesley instantly replied, that he would not cease firing until he should have taken the fort, or until the Killedar should surrender: he told him, however, that he was willing to listen to any thing which he might have to communicate. On the morning of the 11th, therefore, the Killedar sent out two Vakeels, or Commissioners, to propose the surrender, on condition that he should be allowed to depart with the garrison, and to have private property secured; to which the General consented to agree; but, well knowing the treachery and evasive principles of these gentry, he never ceased firing until five o'clock that evening, when the hostages arrived in the British camp. On the morning of the 12th of August 1803, the Killedar marched out of the fort, with a garrison consisting of 1400 men; and the British troops immediately took possession of it.

The loss of the British was comparatively trifling after the 8th, owing most undoubtedly to the spirit with which the attacks on that day were carried on; and their acquisition was an object of great consequence from the advantageous situation of Ahmednaghur, on the frontiers of the Nizam's territory, not only covering Poonah, but serving as an important point of support to all the future operations in the northern district. It was, in fact, considered as one of the strongest forts in the country; and the General himself said, in his public dispatches, that with the exception of Vellore, in the Carnatic, it was the strongest country fort he had seen, and was throughout in excellent repair except that part exposed to the fire of the British artillery. The whole number of the assailants killed were 18 Europeans and 12 natives; wounded, 61 Europeans, 50 natives.

tives.*- As soon as the place was in our possession, the General proceeded to take charge of all the districts dependent upon it, yielding an estimated annual revenue of 650,000 rupees, which districts were placed under the temporary management and authority of a British officer. Proposing to advance to the Godavery river, the general stationed a garrison in the fort sufficient for its retention ; and, having made all other necessary arrangements, he crossed that river with the whole of his army on the 24th of August, and having arrived at Aurungabad on the 29th he understood that Dowlut Rao Scindiah, and the Rajah of Berar, had, on the 24th, entered the territories of the Nizam, by the Adjunttee Ghaut, with a large body of horse.

They had actually passed between Colonel Stevenson's corps, (which had moved to the eastward, towards the Badowley Ghaut) and Aurungabad, and had proceeded as far as Jalnapoor, a small fort, capital of a district of the same name, about forty miles east of that city ; but no sooner did they hear of the arrival of the British troops, than they moved off to the south-east, with the reported intention of crossing the Godavery, and marching upon Hyderabad.

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* The coolness of the Europeans in the attack may be drawn from the fact, that though the attack under Captain Vesey succeeded without difficulty, yet the scaling ladders of the party on the left, under Lieutenant-Colonel Harness, being placed against a part of the wall which, as it has been noticed, had no ramparts, the troops were fired upon from the inside of the town as soon as they had reached the top of the ladders, without the possibility of descending into the town to dislodge the enemy ; upon which Lieutenant-Colonel Harness, finding that he could not obtain a secure footing on the wall, very coolly drew off his party, and entered the town at another point. In the mean time the centre attack, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, had moved on and placed the ladders against a bastion which they carried with great ease. The enemy made some resistance in the streets, and a party of Arabs actually, with great bravery, charged the grenadiers of the 78th, but they were instantly repulsed and put to flight ; which immediately led to the evacuation of the town by the rest of the troops, who by that time had suffered considerably.

In consequence of this the Major-General immediately marched to the left bank of the Godavery, and continued to the eastward by that route; the river itself, at that period, being fordable in every part, a circumstance hitherto unknown at that season of the year.

The enemy, thus checked in their operations to the southward, immediately returned to the northward of Jalnapoor, and the General had the satisfaction at the same time of affording protection to two important convoys of grain and treasures, which had been detached by Lieutenant-General Stewart from Moodghul, the last of which convoys, under Major Hill, joined the British force some time afterwards, on the 18th of September.

In the mean time, on the first of that month, Colonel Stevenson returned from the eastward, and on the 2d attacked and carried the fort of Jalnapoor. Nor were his services confined to this only; for, whilst General Wellesley was engaged in covering the advance of his convoys, and in preventing the confederates from crossing the Godavery, the Colonel made several attempts to bring them to action, in one of which, on the 9th of September, he was completely successful, having surprised their camp, inflicting on them a very severe loss, but the absolute extent of which it was impossible exactly to ascertain from the nature of the attack itself.

The precision and rapidity of the movements of General Wellesley's little army had all the desired effect of preserving the territories of our ally from depredation; for, during this excursion of the enemy towards the Godavery; their irregular horse had occasioned very little injury to the Nizam's people, being, in fact, in many places attacked and beaten by the common *peons*, an irregular kind of infantry of the very worst description, generally employed in the collection of the revenue, and stationed in small numbers in the different villages.

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Public thanks to General Wellesley

The confederate chieftains finding that this their usual mode of predatory warfare was not attended with success, determined to alter their proposed plan of operations; and, accordingly, crossed over to the northward, toward the Adjunttee pass, where they were reinforced by a detachment of regular infantry, under the command of Messieurs Pohlman and Dupont, consisting of sixteen battalions, with a numerous and well equipped train of artillery; the whole of which force was now collected about Bokerdum, and between that place and Jaffierabad.

In the mean time intelligence of this brilliant success having arrived at Calcutta, the most complimentary general orders were immediately issued on the 8th of September, in which the Bengal government signified the high approbation with which the Governor-General, in Council, had observed the judgment, promptitude, and skill, manifested by Major-General Wellesley in directing the forces under his command on that critical occasion. The distinguished alacrity, gallantry, and spirit, which the officers and men displayed in the attack upon the Pettah, and in the subsequent siege of Ahmednaghur, were also particularly noticed; the loss of the officers and men who fell was deeply lamented,* and the survivors were assured that their gallant memory, having thus fallen with honour in the public service, would be regarded with affection and respect by their sovereign and their country.

During this period, the war under General Lake in the northern parts of India, and the operations of a small Bombay force acting against Baroach, were carried on with great brilliancy; we must confine ourselves, however, to the operations of the two corps under General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson, which joined on the 21st of September, near to Budnapoor, when it was determined that the two divisions should

* Captains Grant and Humberston; Lieutenants Anderson and Plenderleath,

should move forward separately towards the enemy, and attack them in the morning of the 24th.

The disposition which the confederate Rajahs had hitherto evinced, of wishing to avoid an action, and the necessity of making a vigorous effort against their main force, afforded no other means of effecting this important object, except the one now undertaken; and, therefore, the two divisions united on the 22d; Colonel Stevenson taking the western route, and the General advancing on the eastern line of march, round the hills between Budnapore and Jalna.

Having arrived at Naulniah on the 23d, and there received a report that Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had moved off in the morning with their cavalry, and that the infantry were about to follow, but were still in camp, at the distance of about six miles from the ground on which he had intended to encamp, it seemed obvious that the proposed attack was no longer to be delayed; and having, therefore, provided for the security of his baggage and stores at Naulniah, he marched to the attack.

The importance and rapidity of this decision are strongly illustrative of our hero's military character; for if he had not adopted this spirited and judicious resolution, the enemy would probably have harassed him during the whole day of the 23d; and, as he could afford no other security to the baggage and stores, than the entrèchments which he might be able to construct, it must have been exposed to loss, if he had waited until the 24th, according to the plan proposed for the junction of Colonel Stevenson's detachment; at all events he would have been obliged to leave more than one battalion for their protection.

There were other imperative reasons for hastening the attack, which seem to have weighed much with him; for he considered that by this prompt measure the enemy would be kept in complete ignorance of the position of the baggage and stores; and as there was every reason to believe that the confederate Rajahs would

would get information of Colonel Stevenson being on his march to join for the attack on the following day, it was extremely probable in that case, that they would withdraw their guns and infantry in the course of the ensuing night, in order to avoid the combined assault of the British forces. The immediate attack therefore, as the Marquis of Wellesley afterwards declared, was a measure dictated both by prudence and courage.

The force left at Naulniah, for the protection of the stores, consisted of a battalion of sepoys, and four hundred of a native corps; when the British army moved on towards the confederates, who were found encamped between, and along, the course of two rivers, the Kaitna and the Juah, towards their junction. Their line extended east and west along the north bank of the Kaitna river, the banks of which are high and rocky, and are impassable for guns, excepting at places close to the villages.

The enemy's right, consisting entirely of cavalry, was posted in the vicinity of Bokerdun, and extended to their line of infantry, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of the fortified village of ASSYE. The British army had already marched fourteen miles to Naulniah; and the distance from that place to the enemy's camp being six miles, it was one o'clock in the afternoon before the British troops came in sight of the combined army of the confederates.

Although they had arrived in front of the enemy's right, yet Major-General Wellesley determined, on reconnoitring the ground, to commence his attack on the left where the guns and infantry were posted; and accordingly he marched round to their left flank, covering the march of the column of British infantry, by the British cavalry in the rear, and by the Peishwah's and the Mysore cavalry on the right flank; a manœuvre dictated by the consideration that a defeat of their infantry was most likely to be effectual.

The British army now advanced, and the river
Kaitna

Kaitna was passed at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank, when the General, with quick precision, formed the infantry immediately in two lines, with the British cavalry as a reserve in a third, in an open space between the Kaitna and a *nullah*, or dry ravine, running parallel to it. The Mahratta and Mysore allied cavalry* he posted on the ground beyond the Kaitna and on the left flank, so as that they might keep in check a large body of the hostile cavalry, which had followed the right of the British line of march from the right of the enemy's position. The first line of the British army consisted of the advanced picquets to the right, two battalions of sepoys, and the 78th regiment; the second line was formed by the 74th regiment, and two battalions of sepoys; and the third consisted of the 19th dragoons with three regiments of native cavalry.

This gallant little band of Britons, and their allies, amounted to no more than 1200 cavalry, European and native, 1300 European infantry and artillery, and 2000 sepoys; in all about 4500 men.

The enemy's force consisted of sixteen regular battalions of infantry, amounting to 10,500 men, (exclusive of the Rajah of Berar's infantry, and the irregulars of Scindiah) commanded by European officers, having a well equipped train of artillery, exceeding one hundred guns in number, and some very large bodies of cavalry, amounting to a number between 30 and 40000 men.

As soon as the British troops advanced to the Kaitna

* The confidence placed in these two corps by the General was fully justified by their having gallantly and faithfully performed all the duties of light troops with his army since its march from Mysore, during which time they had been frequently engaged with the enemy, and that with a degree of alacrity and zeal which has seldom been displayed by troops of that description.

Much of this, no doubt, depended on the regularity with which the new government of Mysore, much to their credit, had attended to their various comforts and to the regularity of their pay; circumstances also operating in the same manner on the cavalry of the Peishwa.

The attack.

na river, the enemy commenced a heavy cannonade, but with trifling effect ; and the moment they discovered that it was General Wellesley's intention to attack their left, they changed the position both of their artillery and infantry, drawing them off from the line along the Kaitna, and extending them from that river across to the village of Assye, which lies upon the Juah river, and there flanked the right of the British troops. To the rear of this first line, and nearly at right angles with it, a second line was formed having its left to the village of Assye, and its rear to the Juah river, along whose bank it extended in a westerly direction.

The attack now commenced, and the British troops advanced rapidly under a very severe cannonade, whose execution at first was terrible. A fire had been commenced, at a distance of four hundred yards, by the British artillery ; but General Wellesley seeing that it made little impression on the powerful and extensive line of the enemy's infantry and guns, and finding that it could not advance with sufficient rapidity, on account of the number of draught bullocks which had been disabled, immediately ordered the artillery to be left behind, and the whole line to move on.

This was the critical moment ; and it is important to observe, that much of the success of the day depended upon the prompt and judicious order of the General, to Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell with the British cavalry, directing him to take care of the right of the infantry as the line advanced towards the enemy, who, unable to stand the charge, were soon compelled (notwithstanding their tremendous cannonade) to fall back upon their second line in front of the Juah river. At this time too, the casualties in the British line were dreadful ; the picquets of the infantry, and the 74th regiment, which were on the right of the army, had severely suffered, from the fire of the enemy's guns on their left near Assye ;

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and the 74th in particular, was so thinned by the enemy's cannonade, that a body of cavalry was encouraged to charge it, at the very moment when it was most exposed to this heavy fire; but they being, in their turn, charged by the British cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, they were driven with great slaughter into the river Juah.

At length, overawed by the gallant and steady advance of the British troops, the whole of the enemy's line gave way in every direction, and the British cavalry, who had already crossed to the northward of the Juah river, now cut in among their broken infantry, charging the fugitives along the bank of the river, with the greatest effect, and with great slaughter. Notwithstanding this signal defeat, yet the small number of the British had not permitted General Wellesley, to secure all the advantages gained in the heat of the action; so that many of the enemy's guns, which had been left in his rear, were actually turned upon the British line by numbers who, having thrown themselves upon the ground near their artillery, had been passed by the conquerors, on a supposition that they were dead. This is an artifice often practised by the native troops in India; and they now availed themselves of it, to commence and keep up for some time a very heavy fire.

Though the enemy's line too was thus completely broken through; yet still, from its extent, some corps were able to move off the ground in very good order; and, at this critical juncture, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell was unfortunately killed whilst charging at the head of the British cavalry a body of infantry which had retired, and was again formed in full force. The enemy's fire too in the rear became so galling, that General Wellesley himself was obliged to take the 78th regiment, and the 7th regiment of native cavalry, in order to put a stop to it. Even at this moment, the fortune of the day again became doubtful; for the enemy's cavalry, which had been hovering round
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THE BATTLE OF ASSYE.

Total defeat of the enemy.

the British troops, during the whole of the action, still continued near the line; but that body of infantry which had re-formed being completely cut down by the British cavalry, notwithstanding the fall of their commanding officer, and General Wellesley, at the same moment, compelling the scattered parties of the enemy in the rear of the line to abandon the guns which they had seized and turned against the British troops, the victory was now decisive, and the enemy retreated in full flight, leaving twelve hundred men dead upon the field of battle, immense numbers of their wounded scattered over the country, ninety-eight pieces of cannon, seven standards, their camp equipage, and a large quantity of military stores and ammunition.

We cannot close this account better than in the words of the Marquis of Wellesley himself, who observed that during the whole of this severe and brilliant action, the conduct of Major-General Wellesley united a degree of ability, prudence, and dauntless spirit, seldom equalled, and never surpassed. It is, indeed, impossible to bestow any commendation superior to the skill, magnanimity, promptitude, and judgment, which he displayed on this memorable occasion; nor can any instance be adduced from the annals of our military glory, of more exemplary order, firmness, discipline, and alacrity, than was manifested by the British troops, in every stage of this arduous contest, leading to this splendid VICTORY OF ASSYE. The whole line, led by the General in person, advanced to the charge with the greatest bravery and steadiness, without its guns, against a most severe and destructive fire of round and grape, until within a very short distance of the enemy's line, when the gallant few obliged them at the point of the bayonet, notwithstanding their superior numbers, to abandon their artillery, and finally to relinquish the field of battle, after a brave resistance on the part of Scindee's infantry for upwards of three hours. It has also been

said by several officers in the British army, who had served during the preceding campaigns on the European continent, that it was no disparagement to the French artillery to say, that cannon were never better served than by the enemy at the battle of Assye, on the 23d of September 1803; yet notwithstanding this powerful circumstance, and the presence of numerous bodies of hostile cavalry, who several times manifested a disposition to charge the line; still the British troops, animated by the gallant spirit of their General, and emulating the noble example of his zeal and courage, exhibited a degree of resolution, firmness, and discipline, which completely overawed both the cavalry and infantry of the enemy, forcing them thus to retire in such a manner at length, as not to be formed again for actual service. Major-General Wellesley himself, in his dispatches, stated that the victory, which was certainly complete, had nevertheless cost very dear, the loss in officers and men, being very great; and that of Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, and other officers in particular, being greatly to be regretted.* He gave great praise to Lieutenant-Colonels Harness and Wallace, for the manner in which they conducted their brigades; and to all the officers of the staff for their ready and useful assistance; and he observed, that the officers commanding brigades, nearly all those of the staff, and the mounted officers of the infantry, had their horses shot under them.

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* The total number killed were, Europeans 198, natives 428, and 325 horses; the wounded were 444 Europeans, 1138 natives, and 111 horses, and there were only 36 missing. The officers killed were Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell of the 19th dragoons, and Captain R. Boyle; Captain H. Mackey, 4th native cavalry; Lieutenant Bonomi, 5th native cavalry; Captain Lieutenants Steele and Fowler, Lieutenants Lindsay and Griffiths, of the artillery; Captains D. Aytone, A. Dyce, R. Macleod, J. Maxwell, Lieutenants J. Campbell, J. M. Campbell, J. Grant, R. Nielson, L. Campbell, and M. Morris of the 74th; Lieutenant J. Douglas of the 78th; and Lieutenants Brown, Mavor, and Ferrie, of native corps.

It was not until the evening of the 24th that Colonel Stevenson was able to join General Wellesley, having been prevented by several impediments from prosecuting his march as rapidly as was expected. This shews more fully the propriety of the General's measures in hastening the attack ; but at the same time reflects no blame whatever upon the gallant Colonel, whose conduct had always been marked by the greatest zeal, activity, and public spirit. He was immediately detached in pursuit of the enemy, and his success in harassing their retreat fully justified General Wellesley's reliance upon his services.

The good consequences of this victory were soon displayed ; for, on the 8th of October, Major-General Wellesley received a notification from the camp of Scindiah, from a person of the name of Ballajee Khoonjur, who was one of Scindiah's ministers, requesting that he would dispatch a British officer, together with an officer of the Soubah of the Dekan, (or Nizam,) to the confederate camp, for the purpose of negotiating terms of peace between the British and the Nizam, and the confederate Mahratta chiefs. The Major-General, however, well knew that this man had been originally dispatched by the Peishwah from Bassein to Scindiah, for the purpose of explaining to him the nature of the engagement entered into by the Peishwah and the British government, when that diplomatic personage, with all the accustomed versatility and treachery of a Mahratta politician, had deserted his master's service, betrayed his confidence, and attached himself to the service of Scindiah. General Wellesley, however, had other sufficient reasons for declining this business at the present moment ; for as there was no mention made either of the Rajah of Berar, or of Scindiah himself, in this communication, he had no certainty of the application being authorized by either of those chieftains, who might thus, when convenient, disavow any knowledge of the matter ; and he also suspected that it might be merely a
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feint on the part of those chiefs, as the presence of a British officer in the enemy's camp at that moment would have tended to raise the spirits of their troops, and prevent their dispersion ; nay, might have been represented by the insidious enemy as an attempt on the part of the British government to sue for peace.

He, therefore, refused to comply with the request ; but at the same time signified his disposition to receive at the British camp, with every mark of honour and respect, any person duly empowered by the direct authority of Scindiah, or of the Berar Rajah, to propose terms of peace to the allied powers.

The confederates finding their tricks, if they were such, completely circumvented, and not chusing to treat on serious terms, now collected the remains of their broken army, and moved along the bank of the Taptee river to the westward, as it appeared to General Wellesley, with the intention of proceeding to the southward by the road which leads to Poonah ; he therefore determined to remain to the southward in order to watch their movements, and detached Colonel Stephenson for the attack of Boorhanpoor which fell shortly afterwards.

Whilst the Major-General was employed in this service during the succeeding months, the insurgent chiefs received the most severe blows from the successes of the British troops in other quarters, and the superiority of the British power was firmly established,*

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* Whilst these military operations were carried on by our armies in the Dekan, against the main force of Scindiah and the Berar Rajah, similar operations, with similar general instructions, were given to General Lake, whose army was on the north-west frontier of Oude.

The refusal of the confederated chieftains to abide by General Wellesley's propositions early in August was considered by General Lake

Operations of General Lake.

In the general orders, which were issued at Calcutta on the receipt of the intelligence of this decisive

Lake as a sufficient reason for commencing the war in that quarter, which was happily concluded on the 1st of November by the decisive battle of Laswarrah.

It is, indeed, beyond our limits to give any thing like a detailed account of those operations; but still a few anecdotes of some of the most interesting transactions may serve to illustrate the happy effects of British policy, valour, and generosity.

The operations of this part of our army were principally directed against the force under the command of Monsieur Perron, then in possession of Delhi, the ancient Mogul capital, and who was attempting to found a new French empire in India, on the ruins of that of Britain.

The first success was on the plains close to Ally Ghur, a strong fortress which the General proposed to attack, and in the vicinity of which Monsr. Perron had assembled his whole force. His position was strong and favourable for repelling the attack of the British army; his front being completely covered by an extensive swamp, which in some parts was not passable; his right flank protected by the fort of Ally Ghur, and his left deriving considerable strength from the nature of the ground on that side, and from the position of some villages which were occupied by parties of his troops. His force was estimated at about 15,000 horse, of which from four to five thousand were regular cavalry. General Lake having determined to turn the left flank of the enemy, the British cavalry were formed into two lines, and advanced to the attack, supported by the infantry in three and four lines, according as the confined nature of the ground would admit. During this advance the enemy's line kept up a smart fire, particularly of matchlocks, through a village which the cavalry had to pass; and a large column of the hostile cavalry, headed by a regular corps of horse, approached sufficiently near to enable the British cavalry to fire a few rounds from their galloper guns, which succeeded in forcing them to retire.

With this shew of opposition the enemy were contented; for the excellent front displayed by the British cavalry, and the regular and determined advance of the whole army, so completely overawed Monsieur Perron and his troops, that they retired as fast as the British troops advanced, and finally quitted the field without venturing to risk an engagement.

The British made several attempts to charge the enemy's cavalry; but the extreme rapidity of their retreat prevented the possibility of effecting this most desirable object. General Lake himself, through the whole of the day, shewed a glorious example to his men; he was with the cavalry through the whole of the business, and charged in person at the head of the 27th dragoons.

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sive victory at Assye, the Governor-General observed that at the close of a campaign of the most brilliant success

The fort of Ally Ghur was soon taken by storm in the most gallant manner, and our troops advanced to Secundra on the 9th of September; and on the 11th the glorious battle of Delhi was fought in sight of that ancient city.

The progress of this battle displayed both British skill and British intrepidity; for finding that it would be difficult to defeat the enemy in their actual position, General Lake, who early in the day whilst in advance with the cavalry had his horse shot under him, determined to make a feint by which the enemy should be induced to quit their intrenchments, and to advance on the plain. With this object in view the British cavalry were directed to retire upon the infantry, both for the purpose of drawing the enemy from his position, and of covering the infantry's advance; and this retrograde movement was performed with the coolest regularity until the junction was effected, when the cavalry opened from the centre, and allowed the enemy to pass on in front. The moment that the cavalry began to retire, the enemy, who imagined it to be a real retreat, quitted their strong position, and advanced with the whole of their guns, shouting and exhibiting every demonstration of perfect confidence in their superior prowess; but they halted on seeing the British infantry, who were instantly formed into one line, with the cavalry in a second line, about forty yards in their rear. At this decisive moment the whole of the British force advanced, whilst General Lake himself led the 76th regiment through a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain-shot. The British still advanced with the greatest bravery and steadiness, and without taking their musquets from their shoulders, until they had reached within an hundred paces of the enemy, who instantly commenced a heavy fire of grape from all their artillery. In an instant the order was given to charge—the whole British line fired but one volley, and then with their illustrious and gallant leader rushed on with such impetuosity that the enemy gave way, and fled in every direction.

The moment the line halted after the charge the General, with his usual precision, ordered them to break into columns of companies, on which the cavalry charged through the intervals with their galloper guns, and completed this signal defeat by pursuing the enemy to the very banks of the Jumna, and driving great numbers of them into that river.

The whole of this glorious business was seen from the minarets and towers of Delhi, and immediately after the action the unfortunate Emperor, Shah Allum, sent to General Lake to express his anxious desire to place his person and authority under the protection of the victorious army.

When General Lake went himself into the city, conducted by the eldest son and heir apparent, Prince Mirza Akbar Shah, although he did

success and glory in every quarter of India, this transcendent victory demanded a testimony of public ho-

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did not reach the palace till sunset, the crowd in the city was so great that it was with some difficulty the cavalcade could pass to the palace. The courts of the palace too were filled with people, all anxious to witness the deliverance of their sovereign from a state of degradation and bondage; and the general, when ushered into the imperial presence, found the unfortunate and venerable monarch, oppressed by the accumulated calamities of old age, degraded authority, extreme poverty, and loss of sight, seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his royal state, with every external appearance of the misery of his condition.

To describe the impression made on the minds of the inhabitants of Delhi, by General Lake's humane conduct on this occasion, is impossible; so strong was it indeed, that in the metaphorical language of that country the native historians, who described the event, declared that the emperor recovered his sight from joy. All that the poor old man could do, (for to the British he was indebted for every thing,) was to confer on General Lake the second title of his empire, calling him, "the sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of the age, and the victorious in war."

Previous to this, Monsieur Perron had retired from the command of the army; and the other French officers now deprived of authority, and finding themselves the object of just indignation to that country which they had so iniquitously governed, were compelled to solicit the protection of the British government; whilst the inhabitants in general, both of the city and the empire at large, rejoicing in a change of masters, and deeply impressed with a just sense of the humane conduct and orderly behaviour of the British troops, as well as of the protection offered by General Lake to their persons and property, regarded the British army as their friends and deliverers.

The country of Delhi being now settled under the government of its ancient Princes, the British army proceeded to fresh conquests over the armies of the Mahratta chiefs; and, after a brilliant course of successes, brought them to action at Laswarrah on the 1st of November 1803. when their defeat was complete, and the war most happily ended. Though this note is extended beyond its reasonable length, yet we cannot omit one interesting fact which took place during the heat of the action. At that period, the second son of the Commander-in-Chief, then Major of the 94th regiment, had attended his father as Aid de Camp, and Military secretary, during the whole campaign, and his gallantry and activity in executing his father's orders had been conspicuous in every service of difficulty and danger.

This gallant young officer constantly attended his father's person, and possessed the highest place in his confidence and esteem; and on this day, whilst the army was advancing, the Commander-in-Chief's horse

Honours to the army.

nour equal to any which the justice of the British government in India had ever conferred on the conduct of our officers and troops, in the most distinguished period of our military history; and he added that the important benefits resulting from that triumph of our arms were not inferior to the splendor of the action itself, when it was considered that the immediate consequences derived from the exertions of that day were the complete defeat of the combined army of the confederate chieftains; an irreparable blow to the strength and efficiency of their military resources, especially of their artillery, in the Dekan; the expulsion of an hostile and predatory army, from the territory of our ally the Nizam; and a seasonable and effectual check to the ambition, pride, and rapacity, of the enemy.

As a further mark of distinction to Major General Wellesley's brave army, the Governor-General ordered that honorary colours with devices properly suited to commemorate that splendid victory should be presented to the various corps employed in that service; and he directed that the names of the brave officers and men, who fell in the battle, should be commemorated, together with the circumstances of the

horse having been pierced by several shot, and fallen dead under him Major Lake, who was on horseback close to him, dismounted, and offered his horse to his father; but the gallant veteran refused, until the major having procured a horse from one of the cavalry, he was prevailed on to take his son's charger. At that very instant, a shot struck Major Lake, and wounded him severely in the presence of his parent who then found it necessary to lead the troops against the enemy, and to leave his gallant and wounded son upon the field. Never, as the Marquis of Wellesley observed, was a more affecting scene presented to the imagination, and never had Providence exposed human fortitude to a more severe trial. But the general in this dreadful and distracting moment, giving up all personal considerations, prosecuted his victory with unabated ardour; and at the close of the battle had the happiness of learning that his son's wound, although severe, was not likely to prove dangerous, and that he was still reserved to serve his king and country with hereditary honour. He lived, however, but to fall at the glorious battle of Roliça in Portugal!

the action, upon the public monument to be erected at Calcutta, to the memory of all those who had fallen in the public service during that campaign.

In execution of the plan which General Wellesley had laid down of watching the motions of the confederate chieftains, he arrived at Poolinary, about sixteen miles north from Aurungabad, when he observed that they did not advance to the southward, as he had been informed they first intended; and in the night of the 15th of October, he received information so particular, of the disposition of their troops, baggage, &c. that he concluded, they intended to interrupt Colonel Stevenson, who was then detached towards Asseerghur after the capture of Boorhanpore. He therefore immediately put his army in motion on the 16th, and descended the Adjuntée Ghaut on the 19th; at which time Scindiah had moved to the northward; but he halted on the return of the British, and returned to Taptee, where the Rajah of Berar separated from him, as it was said, for Chandore. But General Wellesley, well knowing the tricks of these wily chieftains, suspected immediately that this report had been circulated for the purpose of drawing him to the southward again; therefore as Colonel Stevenson had by that time got possession of Asseerghur, and was fully equal to any thing that could be sent against him, he immediately re-ascended the Ghaut, and thereby frustrated the plans of the enemy.

In this judicious opinion and determination he was confirmed by receiving authentic intelligence on the 24th that the Rajah of Berar had actually passed through the hills which form the boundary of Candesh, and had moved towards the river Godavery.

General Wellesley, therefore, proceeded up the Ghaut with the British army on the 25th, continued his march to the southward on the 26th, and on the 29th of October had passed Aurungabad. At this period the Rajah had advanced gradually to the east-

ward, and was at Lakeegaun, about twenty miles north from Puttrin, on the arrival of the British troops at Aurnungabad ; and so much was he alarmed at their advance, that during the time of their being in his vicinity up to the 31st of October, he moved his camp no less than five times, expecting as rapid a visit as they had paid him at Assye. His force, however, was now very much reduced, and so little efficient, that 5000 of his cavalry, whom he detached to attack a convoy of grain and bullocks under the charge of Captain Baynes with three companies of native infantry, two guns, and 400 of the Mysore cavalry, were actually defeated by that small force.

After the capture of Asseerghur, by Colonel Stevenson, the unremitting activity of General Wellesley was still directed to the various military objects in view ; and in the latter end of November, various conferences having taken place with Scindiah's ambassadors, who now felt himself obliged to negotiate, a cessation of arms in the Dekan was agreed upon on the 23d of that month.

During the progress of the negotiation, the Rajah of Berar had moved towards his own dominions, and the Major-General had descended the mountains by the Bagoorah pass, for the purpose of co-operation with Colonel Stevenson, who was then proceeding to the attack of Gawilghur.

On the 28th of November, the British troops under General Wellesley came up with a considerable body of Scindiah's regular cavalry accompanied by the greater part of the Berar infantry ; and as Scindiah had not fulfilled the conditions of the truce which he had himself sought with such eagerness, General Wellesley resolved, notwithstanding the eager and insidious remonstrances and protestations of Scindiah's Vakeel, who was still in his camp, to attack the enemy with all possible vigour. He immediately therefore moved forward to Parterly, when he was joined by Colonel Stevenson, the confederator

Battle of Argaum.

federates having retired from that very spot, their rear being still discernible from a lofty tower in the vicinity. The day was still extremely hot, and the troops were so fatigued that the general felt inclined to postpone the pursuit until the evening; but he had scarcely halted when large bodies of the enemy's horse were noticed in front: and the picquets being immediately advanced, the whole army of the confederates was distinctly perceived, formed in a long line of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, extending a front of five miles, on the plains of *Argaum*.

The moment was now critical; and the general, finding that the enemy was determined on a general action, instantly advanced with the whole army in one column, in a direction nearly parallel to the enemy's line, and with the British cavalry leading. As the British army neared the confederates, it was drawn up in two lines, the first consisting of the infantry, the second of the cavalry, and the right wing was advanced in order to press on the enemy, whilst the left was supported by the Mysore horse. No sooner had the British come pretty close, than they were attacked by a large body of Persian troops, who maintained a most desperate conflict for some time, but were at length totally destroyed: at the same time, a charge of Scindiah's cavalry was repulsed with great bloodshed by the first battalion of the 6th, when the whole hostile line gave way, and fled with the utmost precipitation and confusion, leaving thirty-eight pieces of cannon and all their ammunition in the hands of the victors.

The route was in fact in all parts of the line most decisive; and General Wellesley immediately pushed on for Gawilghur, in order to commence his operations against that fortress.* The services of the army

* This fort is extremely strong from its situation, being erected in a range of mountains, between the sources of the Poonah and Taptee rivers,

army were now laborious in the extreme, and such as scarcely had ever been witnessed. In this service General Wellesley's army took a principal share, although his object was principally to cover the operations of the siege, but if possible to carry into effect attacks upon the southern and western faces.

On the 12th at night, Colonel Stevenson's detachment opened two batteries, for brass and iron guns, to breach the outer fort and the third wall; and another to clear and destroy the defences on the point of attack. A fourth battery was erected by General Wellesley's own division on the mountain, under the southern gate, for the purpose of effecting a breach in the wall near that gate, or at least to divert and distract the attention of the garrison. On the night of the 16th, the breaches of the outer wall of the fort were judged practicable; and a storming party was ordered for the attack, at ten o'clock on the following morning, under Lieutenant-Colonel Kenny. At the same time, two attacks were to be made from the southward; one on the south gate by a strong detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace,

rivers. It stands on a lofty mountain in the very heart of this range, and consists of a complete inner fort, which fronts to the south, where the rock is steepest. There is also an outer fort which covers the approach from the north, by the village of Labada, and all the walls are strongly built and fortified by ramparts and towers. The communications with the whole works are through three gates; one to the south with the inner fort; one to the north west with the outer fort; and one with the north wall. The ascent to the first is very steep, and is only practicable for troops; that to the second is wider, and is by a road formed for the communications of the garrison with the southern countries, but passing round the west side of the fort, and exposed for a considerable distance to its fire; it is besides so narrow as to make it impracticable for regular approaches, and the rock is scarp'd on each side, nor does it lead further than the gate. The communication by the northern gate is direct from the village of Labada, and in this direction the ground is level with that of the fort; but the road leads through the mountains for about thirty miles from Elichpoor, from whence the labour and difficulty of moving ordnance and stores were great in the extreme,

Wallace, and the other on the gate of the north west by a similar force under Lieutenant Colonel Chalmers. These latter dispositions, however, were principally intended to draw off the enemy's attention from the real point of assault.

At the appointed hour the three parties moved forward; and that under Lieutenant Colonel Chalmers reached the north-west gate, just as the enemy were attempting to escape through it, from the bayonets of the assailing party under Lieutenant Colonel Kenny. A dreadful slaughter now ensued, and Lieutenant Colonel Chalmers entered the fort without any difficulty. The wall in the inner fort, in which no breach had yet been made, was still to be carried; after some attempts upon the gate of communication between the inner and outward forts, a place was at length found, at which it was possible to escalate the wall; and here Captain Campbell, with the light infantry of the 94th regiment, fixed the ladders, scaled the wall, and opened the gate to the storming party, who were quickly masters of the place. The garrison had been numerous, and their slaughter was great. The effect of these operations, and of the others in the north, were so powerful, that on the 17th of December 1803, General Wellesley had an opportunity of displaying his diplomatic powers, by the conclusion of a treaty of peace with the Rajah of Berar in his camp at Deogaum, in which the Rajah renounced all adherence to the confederacy, ceded to the company the provinces of Cuttack and Balasore, and engaged never to keep in his service the subjects of any state which might be at war with England.

Soon after this that hitherto restless prince, Scindiah, finding that he had no remaining chance of gratifying his ambition or revenge at our expense, finding himself without an ally, and having exhausted all his resources and expedients, thought proper to send an ambassador to the general also, when
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another treaty was concluded on the 30th of December, highly favourable to the British interests.

No other opportunities offering for Major-General Wellesley to display his military talents after the Mahratta war, which may be considered as almost at a close on the 1st of November, after the decisive battle of Laswarrah under General Lake, we shall present our readers with a statement of the general success from the pen of the Marquis of Wellesley himself.

From the 8th of August, the day on which hostilities commenced, until the 1st of November, a period short of three months, the British army had conquered all the possessions of Scindiah in Guzerat, the city of Boorhanpoore, the province of Cattuck, the cities of Agra and Delhi; the fortified towns of Ahmednaghur, the forts of Alyghur, &c. had been taken by storm; five others reduced by capitulation; had defeated the enemy in three general engagements at Delhi, Assye, and Laswarrah; and had taken 268 pieces of ordnance, 5000 stand of arms, 215 tumbrils, and 51 stand of colours, with a large quantity of stores, baggage, camp equipage and ammunition, in the field, whilst the captures in the various forts, &c. amounted to 415 pieces of ordnance, making the total number 715.

The rapid progress and happy result of these successful operations had restored the Peishwah to his sovereign authority at Poonah, and cemented the British alliance with that prince; had secured the succession of the legitimate heir of the Nizam to the government of his deceased father; had protected the British interests at Hyderabad from injury, and had confirmed the stability of the treaties by which the French were expelled from the Dekan in 1798: and finally had delivered the aged, venerable, and unfortunate emperor of Hindustan, the descendant of a long line of Moguls, from misery and ignominy, from indigence and boudage, and from the hands of the
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Military gratitude.

the French, who had acted towards him with their accustomed insolence and barbarity.

Nor were the consequences of this campaign less important in a general political view; for the military gallantry of the generals, combined with the admirable and exemplary conduct of the officers and troops, could not fail of inspiring both friends and foes with a general sentiment of just confidence in the vigour of our military resources, in the stability of our dominions and power, and of the hopelessness of diminishing that by any means either insidious or decidedly hostile. In short, as the marquis observed, our uniform success in frustrating every advantage of superior numbers, of powerful artillery, and even of obstinate resistance opposed by the enemy, must be considered as constituting a satisfactory proof of the established superiority of British discipline, skill, and valour; and as demonstrating that the glorious progress of our arms, wherever they are carried, is not the accidental result of a temporary or transient advantage, but the natural and certain effect of a permanent cause.

In the month of February 1804, the principal officers of Major-General Wellesley's army agreed to present him with a vase of gold, worth 2000 guineas, of superior workmanship, with an inscription recording the *Battle of Assye*, that event so decisive of the campaign in the Dekan. The committee directed a notification of this intention to be presented to him, to which he acceded, with some very handsome compliments to the officers and army; and it is not irrelevant to mention here that the elegant offer of a star of St. Patrick, which his brother the marquis had with so much propriety declined receiving as a present from the army, had been followed up by that star being actually presented to him by the India company themselves, to whom the army had transmitted the star itself, with a request that it might be so appropriated in a compliment which did honour

to the liberality of all parties, and was a very handsome accompaniment to their grateful grant of a liberal pension to the Governor General for a term of twenty years.

Major-General Wellesley having proceeded for Bombay, in April 1804, after the ratification of the various treaties, accompanied by the ambassadors from Scindiah, also by some of the native chiefs, he was received not only with all the military honours due to his high station, but with all the respect which the inhabitants in general could shew him for his eminent services. Addresses of the most respectful and flattering nature were presented to him, to which he returned modest answers, attributing all his success, not to himself, but to his gallant troops, and to the exertions of the civil government in co-operating with him. Splendid fetes were given by the Governor, and the whole routine of public dinners, &c. &c. was gone through; and, in short, nothing omitted which could testify the high sense entertained of his merit, by all ranks and distinctions in the settlement. In the address, it was very justly asserted that the difficult negotiations which he carried on with two hostile powers, when, at the same moment, his attention was occupied by the operations of the field, did the greatest honour to his talents as a statesman, and displayed a happy union of political skill, and of military science.

The general repose of the British empire in India was for a short time disturbed by the hostile conduct of Holkar, who, we have seen, had been formerly in league with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar.

The conduct of this chief, however, was predatory in the extreme; for he spared neither friends nor foes, but actually made an attack upon Scindiah's fort of Agimere, during, or at the period of, the negotiations with the British.

On the settlement of the peace with Scindiah and the Berar Rajah, though the British government saw the futility of entering into alliance with Holkar, yet it

it was still an object of policy to the Marquis of Wellesley to keep him quiet if possible ; and as we had nothing to do with the question of succession between him and his brother, it was proposed to conclude an engagement with him, agreeing to leave him in the unmolested exercise of his authority, provided that he would engage to abstain from any act of aggression against the British government or its allies.

After considerable delay and negotiation, a letter was addressed by Holkar to General Wellesley, still commanding the army in the Dekan, and which appeared to be written in February 1804, in which he demanded the cession of certain districts in that country, as the price of peace, and added that in the event of a war taking place, although he might be unable to oppose the British in the field, still that “ countries of many hundred coss,* should be overrun, and plundered, and burnt; that the British Commander-in-Chief should not have leisure to breathe for a moment ; and that calamities would fall on hundreds of thousands of human beings in continual war, by the attacks of his army, *which overwhelms like the waves of the sea.*”

Even this insolent letter did not make any impression on the moderation of the British government ; but it was at length found absolutely necessary, in the month of April, to reduce his mischievous power, which seemed solely bent on disturbing the general tranquillity.

The operations of this war, however, fell principally on General Lake ; and the army in the Dekan, under Major-General Wellesley, had little more to do than to undertake the reduction of the strong fortress of Chandore, whose fall, though redounding highly to the military skill of the General, affords no remarkable features for our present biography.

The complete destruction of Holkar's force soon

* A Coss is about two English miles.

Elected Knight of the Bath.

led to a general pacification, and the Marquis of Wellesley having determined to give up the government of India and return to England, the Marquis of Cornwallis was appointed to succeed him, and every preparation made for the departure of the Governor-General and his brother, as soon as the Marquis of Cornwallis should arrive.

In the early part of this year, (3d of May 1804,) Major-General Wellesley received the high honour of the thanks of both houses for his gallant and judicious services; and about the same period a very handsome sword, of the value of 1000 guineas, was presented to him at Calcutta. The feelings of the natives of India towards the Major-General may be drawn from an address presented to him in the month of July 1804 by the inhabitants of Seringapatam, in which they declare that they had reposed for five years under the shadow of his auspicious protection; that they had felt even during his absence, in the midst of battle and of victory, that his care for their prosperity had been extended to them in as ample a manner as if no other object had occupied his mind; and that they were preparing, in their several casts, the duties of thanksgiving and of sacrifice to the preserving God, who had brought him back in safety: and they concluded with this remarkable and memorable prayer—"and when greater affairs shall call you from us, may the God of all casts and all nations deign to hear with favour our humble and constant prayers for your health, your glory, and your happiness!"

On the 1st of September 1804, the gallant subject of our biography was elected a Knight Companion of the most honourable Order of the Bath; from which period we must speak of him as the Honourable Sir Arthur Wellesley.

Preparing, in March 1805, to return to England, Sir Arthur Wellesley received the most flattering
and

Song of gratitude.

and respectful addresses from all quarters ;* from the army, from the garrison of Seringapatam, and from the native inhabitants of that city ; to all which he returned answers highly expressive of his gratitude for their good wishes, as well as to his own regiment, the 33d, who from their head quarters at Vellore testified their grateful feelings for his unremitted attention to their happiness and welfare, during a period of twelve years that he had been their Lieutenant-Colonel. He shortly after proceeded for England, and, late in 1805, arrived once more in his native country.

* On the 5th of March, he was particularly honoured by a grand dinner, given by the officers of the garrison of Madras, to which the Governor and every person of distinction were invited. After dinner the following song, composed for the occasion, was sung in full chorus to the tune of the " British Grenadiers :"

Begin the song of triumph, resound the martial strain !
To Britain's shores returning, brave Wellesley quits the plain !
Where victory exulting, her conqu'ring flag still rears,
And led to glory, or to death, her British Grenadiers !

Our enemies reviving, rejoice in his return ;
But soon shall fade the flatt'ring hopes that in their bosoms burn ;
For from his great example, fresh heroes still shall rise,
Nor e'er the sun of conquest set in these unclouded skies !

We mourn the gallant soldier, that for his country bleeds,
But to the painful sacrifice a lasting calm succeeds ;
And though the transient storm of war obscures the rising day,
The star of peace shall brighter shine, that gilds its evening ray.

Then Wellesley, though retiring from yon ensanguin'd field,
Where Mars, thy might extending, made Scindiah's legions yield ;
Yet, shall a livelier joy be thine, when, with protecting care,
Plenty and liberty have spread their mingled blessings there.

Then sing the song of triumph, once more the martial strain,
To Britain's shores returning, brave Wellesley quits the plain.
A little time the conqueror for all his toils repays,
It gives him all a soldier asks—his King and Country's praise.

SECTION IV.

Preliminary observations—Expedition to Hanover—Attack on the Marquis of Wellesley by Mr. Paull—Marriage of Sir Arthur Wellesley—Genealogical anecdotes of the Longford family—Parliamentary conduct of Sir Arthur in vindication of the Marquis—Elucidation of Indian politics—Speech on the financial affairs of India—Appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland—Official and parliamentary duties—War with Denmark—Policy of France towards that country—Expedition prepared for Copenhagen—Sails for the Sound—Arrival at Copenhagen—Landing of the army—Proclamation by the Commander-in-Chief—Commencement and operations of the siege of Copenhagen—Danish army formed in the Interior—Sir Arthur Wellesley detached with a separate command—Operations of his army—Battle of Kioge—Defeat of the enemy—Copenhagen bombarded—Capitulation—Generous and prudent conduct of the Conquerors—Fleet and arsenals taken possession of—Military anecdotes of the siege, &c.—Return to England—Thanks of both houses, to the officers employed—Modest eloquence of Sir Arthur Wellesley—Speeches and political conduct of Sir Arthur respecting Ireland, &c. &c. &c.

IN the latter end of 1805, Great Britain having agreed to a partial support of her friends on the continent, a considerable force was accordingly embarked at Ramsgate; consisting of the German Hanoverian legion, near 8000 strong, the brigade of the Coldstream guards, and other regiments, amounting in the whole to about 13,000 men; and having sailed on the 4th of November, from the Downs, under the command of General Don, with a fair wind, they reached the Weser river on the 20th, and landed at Bremen, where they were welcomed by the inhabitants with every mark of kindness; and a proclamation in the name of his Majesty to his Hanoverian subjects was immediately issued. On the 17th of December

Lord

Lord Cathcart* arrived there from England and took the command of the British army, then quartered in Bremen and in Hanover ; and at this period Sir Arthur Wellesley, having been placed upon the staff, was promoted to the command of a brigade.

The circumstances of the time prevented this small force from accomplishing any thing ; and accordingly they soon after returned from the continent, landing at Yarmouth in February 1806.

After his return from Hanover, Sir Arthur Wellesley

* Lord Cathcart is descended from a family in which military glory may be considered as a part of its inheritance. In latter times his grandfather was Commander-in-Chief of the land forces, sent out with Admiral Vernon to the attack of Carthage ; but died before the capture, under the very walls of that fortress, in 1740.

His father, during the whole of his life, was employed in the active exercise of the military profession. He was wounded in the cheek at the memorable battle of Fontenoy ; and was afterwards compelled to wear a patch to conceal the wound. The Duke of Cumberland was standing by his side when the ball struck him ; and the traditionary memorials of the family record the brief soldierlike words, in which the Duke noticed it, " Cathcart ! they have marked you."

In the battle of Culloden, he again fought by the side of his Royal Highness ; and indeed, both he himself, and his son, the present Viscount, seem to have been always *personally* attached to the Royal family.

The present noble Viscount, though originally a Scottish Peer, was born at Petersham in 1753 ; was educated at home under a private tutor, and afterwards sent to Edinburgh, to study the Scottish law ; but in 1771 may be said to have embarked in public life, by accompanying his father on his mission to the court of Petersburg, though not before he had acquired an extraordinary fund both of legal and historical information.

On succeeding to his father's title in 1776, Lord Cathcart entered the army ; and, having raised a regiment, went to America, where he served the greatest part of the war, and there married the daughter of Lord Minto.

When Lord Cathcart returned to England, he was favourably received at court, and continued to rise, not only in the army, but in public estimation ; and it is perhaps not his least praise, that his virtue and self denial then enabled him to overcome the pernicious habit of gaming, which was too much fostered amongst our officers during the American war. In fact, his private and domestic character now throw a lustre on his military reputation.

Becomes Colonel of the 33d.

ley for a short period had a command upon one of the coast districts; and then his discipline and management were as creditable to his military character, as a tactician, as his general deportment towards the officers under his command was to his reputation as a soldier and a gentleman.

On the death of the Marquis of Cornwallis, then Colonel of the 33d regiment, Sir Arthur Wellesley was named to succeed him, having been its Lieutenant-Colonel thirteen years, and present with it for almost the whole of that time, during a period of active service.

We have now seen Sir Arthur Wellesley in the characters of a military Chief, and of an able Diplomatist; a new scene, however, now opened to him as a politician, he having taken his seat in the House of Commons for Newport in Hants, in which situation he shewed equal abilities as in the field, particularly in the defence of his brother from the attacks of some disappointed partizans.

To trace him through all his senatorial services would, indeed, far exceed our limits; we must, notwithstanding, notice the first important display of his oratorical powers, when called on to his brother's vindication, both as a matter of public duty and of private friendship.

Previous to this, however, a slight retrospect is necessary.

When Mr. Paull came forward in the House of Commons, as the accuser of the Marquis of Wellesley, in 1805, and had obtained orders for the production of various papers to substantiate his charges, the absurdity of such an obscure individual bringing forward a measure of such apparent importance would have had no other effect than exhibiting, in a more glowing light, the brilliancy of the Governor-General's administration, had not the eagerness of party gladly seized upon it as food for rancorous debate

Marriage of Sir Arthur.

and frequent wilful misrepresentation.* Stimulated, however, by purposes, which afterwards appeared not to be of the most honourable kind, he continued in the ensuing year, 1806, to urge his accusation, certainly with unabated constancy and perseverance. Unluckily for him, amongst his other deficiencies, he wanted judgment, temper, and discretion; and though the want of these qualifications is often useful to a man whose object is merely to gain the applause of a mob, yet it will ultimately tend to his defeat in the opinions of the thinking and judicious.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, being now in the senate, took frequent opportunities of vindicating the character of his brother from the wild and unfounded aspersions thrown upon it; and his eloquence and intimate knowledge of the subject were irresistible on the minds of all who were not warped by party or by prejudice.

Such was the state of the question in the beginning of 1806; early in which year, after a life of such activity, he now sought for the calm delights of domestic happiness, and was married to the Honourable Miss Elizabeth Pakenham, daughter of the late Lord Longford, to whom he was united on the 10th of April 1806;† but his talents were not permitted

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* The principal of these charges were for having applied one and a half million to purposes not sanctioned by the company; and for having expended 25,000*l.* per annum illegally, to purposes of ostentation and splendid profusion, in his official establishment, which ought to have come out of his own salary!

† This very ancient and noble family is originally of Saxon descent; and we find that in the reign of Edward III. Sir Lawrence Pakenham, Knt. married Elizabeth, second sister and co-heiress of Thomas Engaine, Baron of Blatherwick, in Northamptonshire. From him descended Sir John and Sir Hugh Pakenham, brothers, in the reign of Henry VIII. and the consequence of the family may be drawn from the fact that Sir John, the eldest, was possessed of the manor of Lordington in Sussex; and his only daughter and heiress, Constance, was married to Sir Geoffry de la Pole, Knt. second son of Sir Richard de la Pole and Margaret Plantagenet, only daughter of George Duke of Clarence, brother of King Edward IV.

Sir

to sink into oblivion, as we find him a very few days after in his place in the House, attending to the charges already brought forward against the Marquis. Sir Arthur interfered but slightly until the 22d of April, and then though he did not rise to object to the printing of the first charge, though brought forward in a most unparliamentary way by Mr. Paull, nor

Sir John, the youngest, was lord of the manor of Norwitham in Lincolnshire, and left issue a son John, and a daughter Anne, who was married, in the reign of Henry VIII. to Sir William Sidney, (first tutor, and then Chamberlain and Steward of the Household, to King Edward VI.) by whom she was mother of Sir Henry Sidney, afterwards Lord Deputy of Ireland. These marriages are sufficient proof of the early importance of the family. John Pakenham, already spoken of, had issue only one son Robert; and he must have died about the close of Edward's reign, for we find that in the first year of Queen Mary that princess granted the wardship and marriage of his son to Sir Henry Sidney.

Robert left an only son, Hugh, who having no less than eighteen children, all males, three of them went over to Ireland, as officers of the army in 1642, serving in the troops sent to suppress the unhappy rebellion which then raged in that country.

The eldest of these three was Henry, the ancestor of the present family, who had for his services a grant of the lands of Tullinally, now better known by the name of Pakenham Hall, in the county of Westmeath: which are still in possession of the family. He seems to have been of considerable consequence in that part of the country, and was elected Member of Parliament for Cavan, in the county of Meath, after the Restoration.

His son, Sir Thomas Pakenham, Knt. was Prime Serjeant to his Majesty in Ireland. He died in 1709, and was succeeded by his son Edward, who sat in Parliament for the county of Westmeath, during great part of the reign of George I. His eldest son Thomas also sat in Parliament for the town of Longford, and in 1756 was called up to the House of Peers as Baron Longford. He married Elizabeth, heiress of Michael Cusse, Esq. of Ballinrobe, in the county of Mayo, and had a son, Edward Michael, the second Lord. Lady Longford being grand niece of the last Earl of Longford, she was, on the 5th of July 1775, created Countess of Longford with remainder to her son Edward; but he, though Baron Longford, never inherited the Earldom, dying before his mother. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Hercules Langford Rowley, Esq. by the late Viscountess Longford, and had a numerous family consisting of the present Earl; Edward Michael, now a Major-General, and serving with his illustrious brother-in-law; William, a Captain in the navy, unhappily wrecked in the *Saldanha* frigate; and, amongst other daughters, ELIZABETH, THE PRESENT MOST NOBLE MARCHIONESS OF WELLINGTON.

nor to the appointing of a day for considering it, he could not help saying a few words upon the manner in which the noble Marquis, who was the object of that charge, had been frequently held up as a public delinquent. The House would recollect how often that noble Marquis had been thanked by the House, and by the Court of Directors, for those very measures, many of which were now brought forward as matters of charge. He argued, that the accuser had not laid any ground for his charge, much less had he produced any evidence in support of it. The service in which he had himself been employed enabled him to speak to some of the facts contained in the charge; and he could say there was no foundation whatever for some of them. With respect to others, they were either totally misrepresented or mistated, and as devoid of truth and justice. It was true that an Indian Director had said that he had in his pocket a paper which would prove many of them. If so, why did he not move for the production of that paper? If the honourable gentleman had really any such paper in his pocket, and could produce it, he was ready to meet it. The honourable Director had stated, that the letter which had been previously moved for contained proofs of many of the accusatory statements; but this he begged to dispute. The letter contained no such proofs. It might, indeed, contain references to documents relating to the allegations in the charge, but that would not amount to a proof. He confessed that he could easily conceive the delicacy of situation into which the House had been brought by the course that had been adopted. He could conceive that it might be a question with the House, whether in justice it could receive a charge, without any proof being offered in support of it. He felt it also due to justice that some enquiry should be made. On this ground it was that he supported the motion of the Right Honourable Secretary (Mr. Fox) to adjourn the consideration of the

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subject;

subject; he did not wish to press the House to any precipitate judgment, but he hoped they would consider the feelings of his noble relative, and come to such decision as would lead to a speedy and full discussion of the whole case.

On the 28th of April, when the adjourned debate was resumed, and Mr. Paull, complaining of want of papers, wished to induce the House to adopt the charges in the absence of all evidence whatever, Sir Arthur Wellesley said, that he believed the practice of Parliament in such cases had been already shewn to be, that the evidence should generally, if not always, precede the charges, and that he saw no necessity for deviating from that rule on the present occasion; though he admitted at the same time that every case ought to stand on its own individual merits. The charge, he said, as brought against his noble relative, was for squandering the money of the India Company in unnecessary purposes of personal splendor; but the papers hitherto produced applied to charges of which no notice had as yet been given.

He then adverted to a paltry attempt which had been made to prejudice the House and the public at large against himself, by stating that *he* was implicated in some of the proceedings; but to this his short reply was, that what he did in India was in obedience to the orders he had received; and for the manner of that obedience, and its immediate result, he was ready to answer either to that House, or to any other tribunal in the realm.

On a subsequent occasion, on the 8th of May, he again came forward, and declared, that the more speedily the charges against the Marquis could be put at issue, and the more expeditious the mode by which the matter could be brought to its final decision, the more satisfactory it would be to the Marquis and to all his friends: and this he did in reply to some charges of a wish to procrastinate the enquiry, when, in fact, Mr. Paull and his party were actually
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calling upon the House for a decision, before even the papers which they themselves had moved for had been brought up. It is impossible to follow the long, frequent, and very interesting, debates on this subject; but we cannot pass over the spirited vindication of his brother from a charge of murder brought forward by Mr. Paull, without any shadow of proof whatever; and which, indeed, he only noticed in order that a charge of so foul and atrocious a nature should not go forth unexplained, or remain as a stain upon the character of the Marquis, without having the circumstances, on which it was fabricated, in a proper point of view. He explained, that the Zemindars of the country ceded to the Company, instead of paying their tribute, or rents, in a regular manner, had combined to resist the usual law and custom of the country, had in fact taken up arms and retired to their forts; and that it was therefore necessary, as a matter of justice, and as an example also, that they should be reduced to obedience by force. In fact, so obstinate, and so powerful, were they, that it required the whole of the Bengal army, with the Commander-in-Chief at their head, to effect this service. They were, therefore, attacked in their forts; and in the course of their obstinate resistance some persons fell, and some blood was spilt; but this was what the accuser had designated as a murder, although it was completely an act of public power, done in support of the laws of the country, like what would have been done against any class of British subjects in resistance to laws passed by that House; and the House itself would therefore judge how far it was just to designate such a measure by the epithet of murder.

On the 10th of July 1806, in defence of his brother he made a most eloquent and highly impressive speech on the financial affairs of India, in which he proved that the revenues of that country had increased between six and seven millions per annum during

Appointed Secretary in Ireland.

his brother's administration: and that, during that period, in consequence of his arrangements, the commerce of India had become capable itself of supplying the demand for bullion in the China market, so as to have placed the affairs of the company, and of the public at large, upon a footing hitherto unknown.

In the early part of 1807, Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, under His Grace the Duke of Richmond; and on the 8th of April 1807, was sworn in a member of the British Privy Council in consequence of that political office.

During the subsequent months he was sometimes resident in Ireland, attending to the duties of his office, and at others fulfilling his duty in the United Parliament.

In the pursuance of these official duties, Sir Arthur Wellesley on the 9th July brought in a bill to prevent more effectually insurrections and disturbances in Ireland; another object of the Bill was also to prevent improper persons having arms; and the whole was to be enforced by obliging all persons to register their arms, and by establishing some very strong measures against the manufacturing of pikes.

On this question a great deal of accusation and re- crimination took place, and much was said of the revival of religious animosities; however, the measure was at length carried through its various forms.

At this period the attempts of Buonaparte to shut the Baltic against English commerce were nearly successful, and his plans of seizing the Danish navy for the purpose of the invasion of these countries was well known to government; a fact which, though denied by many at the time, has since been fully proved by his own state-papers. Little, indeed, was now wanting to the completion of his plan but the consent of Denmark; she opposed, however, but a feeble obstacle to his ambition, and he proceeded by threats and negotiations to prepare her for his views; whilst his army on the borders of Holstein was ready to
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take advantage of any opportunity that might offer for a sudden irruption into that country.

The British government having kept an attentive eye upon these transactions, determined to frustrate them by sending to sea a powerful military and naval armament, consisting of about twenty-seven sail of the line, with 20,000 men; and such had been the secrecy attending the whole preparation of this expedition, that it was at sea before either its destination or its force was known to the public.

The command of the troops was given to Lord Cathcart, and Sir Arthur Wellesley accompanied him on the service; and the naval part of the expedition was under the direction of Admiral (now Lord) Gambier, assisted by other gallant officers.

On proceeding to sea one division of the fleet, under the immediate superintendence of Commodore (now Sir Richard) Keats, was detached to the Great Belt, with instructions to allow no military force of any description to enter the Island of Zealand; and this enterprising, yet prudent, officer having conducted his squadron through an intricate and difficult navigation, stationed his vessels in such a manner as completely to fulfil the orders entrusted to him. The British army was conducted by the main body of the Fleet to the Sound, when the operations commenced with the greatest vigour.

A proclamation was immediately issued by the Commander-in-Chief declaring the circumstances under which they were obliged to proceed to this debarkation; that the deposit of the Danish ships of the line was the sole object of their enterprise, which was undertaken in self-defence, merely to prevent those who had so long disturbed Europe, from directing against Great Britain the resources of Denmark; that the most solemn pledge had been given, and was now renewed, that if the demand should be acceded to every ship should be restored in the same condition as when delivered up; that Zealand should be treated

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British army landed.

ed by the British forces, while on shore, on the footing of a province of the most friendly power of Great Britain; the strictest discipline being observed, and persons and property held most scrupulously sacred; that the innocent blood which must be shed, and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital, must fall on those only who advised resistance to a measure thus dictated by imperious circumstances, and that the Commanders-in-Chief were still anxious to proceed with reason and moderation, if the Danish government were inclined to come to an amicable arrangement.

On the 18th of August 1807, the reserve of the army landed at five in the morning with the ordnance of a light brigade, and occupied the heights of Hellerup, before Copenhagen; and in the course of the day additional troops were landed. A flag of truce was then received from Major-General Peyman, Commander-in-Chief in Copenhagen, requesting passports for the two Princesses of Denmark, nieces of his Danish Majesty, to leave Copenhagen, which were granted; and in the evening the army marched by their left in three columns, and lay upon their arms in advance. At day break the whole army marched in three columns to invest the town, and every arrangement was made for that purpose in the course of the day. About noon hostilities actually commenced by the picquets towards the left being attacked, whilst the Danish gun-boats rowing out of the harbour cannonaded the left of the line with grape and round shot.

The picquets soon drove in and pursued the enemy, and resumed their posts, being supported by the advance of part of the line; and the British gun-brigs and bombs, having been towed as near the harbour as they could be, opened a fire, though at a considerable distance, upon the Danish gun-boats, forcing them, after a long and heavy cannonade, to retire into the harbour.

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On the succeeding day (the 18th) the attacks of the gun-boats were renewed upon the light British vessels in advance: but a brigade of artillery on shore being brought to inflade them, they were forced to retire, as well as part of the garrison which had come out in advance upon the road. In the course of the day the engineering and entrenching tools were landed, and every thing was prepared for commencing the siege in form.

At three in the morning of the 24th, the army was under arms; the centre advanced its position to the height near the road which runs in a direction parallel to the defences of Copenhagen, on to Fredericsburg, occupying that road, and some parts beyond it. The guards at the same time occupied the suburbs on that side, flanked by a detachment of the 79th; and there they dislodged a picquet of the enemy who in their retreat concealed thirteen three pounders which were afterwards found.

All the picquets of the garrison now fell back to the lake or inundations in front of the place, the British picquets occupying their ground, and in the afternoon, the garrison having shewed itself on all the avenues leading from the town, as if with a design either to recover ground or to burn the suburbs, the different corps in advance drove them in on all sides, and at the same time seized all the suburbs on the north bank of the lakes, some of which were only 400 yards distant from the ramparts.

In this affair Sir Arthur was engaged with his division, and General Sir David Baird's division turned, and carried a redoubt which the enemy had been some days constructing, and which was that night converted into a work against them.

In the course of the evening the Danes set fire to the end of the suburb nearest to Copenhagen, the upper part of which was occupied by the guards, and was now defended by them; and this was of little avail, for in consequence of the general success

Sir Arthur detached on service.

along the whole line, the works which had been intended, and indeed begun by the British army, were abandoned, and a new line of attack was taken, within about 800 yards of the main body of the place, and even nearer to it on the flanks.

On the 25th, the cannonade was briskly kept up on both sides ; and on the 26th, it being understood that the Danish General, Castenschiold, had formed an army in the interior of the island consisting of three or four battalions of disciplined troops, besides a number of armed peasantry, it was judged necessary to disperse this force; and Sir Arthur Wellesley was dispatched for that purpose, having with him the reserve of the army, eight squadrons of cavalry and horse artillery, under Major General Linsingen, the 6th battalion of the line, King's German legion, and a light brigade of artillery. He marched to Roskild Kroe,* and on the 27th advanced in two divisions to attack the enemy in front and rear at Koenerup; but finding that Castenschiold had moved up towards Kioge, he took a position to cover the besieging army. On the evening of the 27th, he placed Colonel Redan with a force at Val-lens-break, and on the 28th General Linsingen marched towards Roskild, thereby forming on the right of Sir Arthur's main body.

Sir Arthur Wellesley having had reason to believe that General Castenschiold still remained at Kioge, he determined to attack him on the 29th of August, and arranged with General Linsingen, that he should
cross

* Roskild is the most ancient town in Zealand, and is situated on a branch of the Jisefjord in a valley, whilst the banks of the river form a very striking contrast with its low situation. It has been long in a declining state ; but the scenery around it is beautiful in the extreme, with vast forests of oak, through which at intervals various spires and steeples steal upon the view, whilst in its immediate vicinity are innumerable corn-fields, interspersed with cheerful hamlets and detached farm steads. In the town is the ancient Cathedral and burying place of the Royal family.

Total defeat of the enemy,

cross the Kioge rivulet at Little Sellyas, and turn the Danish left flank, whilst he himself should move along the sea-road towards Kioge, and attack in front.

Both divisions accordingly broke up in the morning of that day, and marched according to the concerted plan. When Sir Arthur approached to Kioge, he found the enemy in force on the north side of the town and rivulet, from whence they immediately commenced a cannonade upon the patrols of hussars in front of the British troops. At this time their force consisted of three or four battalions of the line, with cavalry on both flanks, and apparently a large body beyond the town and rivulet. At the time agreed upon with General Linsingen, Sir Arthur formed his infantry in one line, with the left to the sea; having the two squadrons of hussars upon the right; and as there had been some appearance of a movement by the enemy to their left, and he had not had any communication with General Linsingen, and of course was not certain of his having passed the rivulet, Sir Arthur, with his accustomed promptitude, immediately ordered the attack to commence in echelon of battalions from the left, the whole being covered by the first battalion of the 95th regiment, and by a well directed fire from the artillery.

It fell to the lot of the 92d regiment to lead this attack; and they performed their part in the most exemplary manner, being equally well supported by the 52d and 53d.

So warmly were they handled by the British, that the enemy were soon obliged to retire to an entrenchment which they had formed in the front of a camp on the north side of Kioge, and they also made a disposition of their cavalry upon the sands, to change the 92d in flank, as advancing to attack this entrenchment.

By this disposition of the Danish force, Sir Arthur was obliged to move Colonel Redan's hussars

from the right to the left flank, and to throw the 43d into a second line; after which the 93d carried the entrenchment, and forced the enemy to retreat into the town in great disorder. They were followed immediately, in the most gallant style, by Colonel Redan and his hussars, and by the first battalion of the 95th regiment, and afterwards by the whole line of infantry. Upon crossing the rivulet, it was found that General Linsingen's corps had advanced upon the right flank, and the whole joined in the pursuit.

At this moment, Major General Oshoken, the second in command of the Danish force, who had joined the enemy on the preceding evening with four battalions, attempted to make a stand in the village of Herfolge; but he was attacked so briskly by the hussars and a small detachment of the 1st and 95th, that he was compelled to surrender along with Count Wedel Jarisburg and several other officers, and about 400 men. On this occasion the loss of the enemy was very great; many fell during the action, and there were sixty officers and eleven hundred men taken prisoners. In the flight the Danes threw away their arms and cloathing, and many stands of the former fell into the hands of the pursuers, besides several pieces of cannon.*

After

* Some interesting anecdotes of this action have been detailed by an officer who was present, and says--On our arrival before Herfolge, we found the church yard of the village occupied by a party of the Danish militia, who had retreated from Kioge apparently resolved to defend themselves there. Colonel Alten immediately sent some hussars round the village in order to intercept the retreat of the enemy if they should attempt it. In the mean time, a corporal of the hussars left his horse; and, creeping along under the banks, arrived unseen within a few paces of the church yard, which he reported to be full of infantry, who lay behind the walls prepared to give their fire upon any one who should approach. The Colonel, upon this, brought down two light field pieces of the German artillery, and several rounds were fired at the steeple; the height of the banks on each side of the road being too great to allow a direct fire at the church-yard. The stones and rubbish falling with much noise amongst the Danes, most probably alarmed them, as they almost immediately hung out a flag of truce.

Siege continued.

After the action, it was understood that the reason of General Linsingen's force not being up sooner to co-operate in the attack arose from the Danes having destroyed the bridges in his route, and thereby impeded his advance. On the 30th the batteries were nearly finished, and two thirds of the ordnance mounted; and on the 31st the enemy attempted a sortie on the right, before sunrise, but were stopped for some time by a picquet of the 50th regiment under the orders of Lieutenant Light. They still persevered, however, until they were repulsed by all the picquets with some loss; and in this affair General Sir David Baird was twice wounded, but did not quit the field.

On the 1st of September 1807, the mortar batteries being nearly ready for service, the place was summoned; but the answer arrived late accompanied by

truce. Upon this Colonel Alten, putting himself at the head of a party consisting only of fifteen, led them forward towards the church gate; but, upon turning the corner of a house and coming nearer, they received several musquet shot, by which a corporal and two horses were wounded.

This, however, afterwards appeared to have arisen from some mistake; for at the same moment the gates were opened, and General Oxholme (or Oshoken) and his party surrendered; but whilst the officers were delivering up their swords, some of the hussars, exasperated at what they supposed the treachery of the Danes, particularly as two or three additional shots was again fired, galloped into the church yard, and were proceeding to take their revenge, when the interference of General Oxholme and Colonel Alten put an end to all farther hostilities. The Danes were then ordered to bring all their arms without the church-yard, and to lay them down there.

The whole business was finished, when some of the 95th regiment came up: and in searching the steeple of the church, found the colours of the corps that was taken.

A surgeon of the 95th now took care of the wounded in the church-yard; and Sir Arthur Wellesley coming up, Colonel Alten delivered to him the swords of the Danish officers, and the prisoners.

Though the officers with great prudence had yielded without opposition, when resistance was in view, yet their people seemed of a different disposition; for even, after the 95th came up, several shots were fired from a house near to the church-yard, to which a few of the party had retired.

by a desire to take the pleasure of his Danish Majesty on the subject, so that no reply could be sent until the following day.

On the evening of the 2d of September, the land batteries, and the bomb and mortar vessels, opened a tremendous fire upon the town, and with such effect, that in the course of a very short time a general conflagration appeared to have taken place. The fire was returned but feebly from the Danish ramparts, and from the citadel and crown batteries.

The assailants slackened their fire on the night of the 3d; and the enemy having supposed that this arose from a want of ammunition, they felt themselves encouraged to more resistance, although in fact it had proceeded solely from the humanity of the Commander-in-Chief who had hoped that the impression already made would induce them to accede to a capitulation. Finding these expectations disappointed, the cannonade and bombardment was resumed on the 4th, with such vigour and effect, that the next day a trumpeter was sent out.

On the evening of the 5th of September, a letter was sent by the Danish General to propose an armistice of twenty four hours, or preparing an agreement on which articles of capitulation might be founded. The armistice was declined, as tending to unnecessary delay, and the works were continued; but the firing was countermanded, and Lieutenant Colonel Murray was sent to explain that no proposal of capitulation could be listened to, unless accompanied by the surrender of the fleet.

On the 6th this basis having been admitted by a subsequent letter, Lord Cathcart sent for Sir Arthur Wellesley from his command in the country, where, as was said in the public dispatches, he had distinguished himself in a manner so honourable to himself and so advantageous to the public service; and he, with Sir Home Popham, and Lieutenant Colonel

Danish fleet secured.

Murray, was appointed to prepare and conclude the terms of capitulation.

These officers, with their accustomed energy, having insisted on proceeding immediately to business, the capitulation was drawn up in the night between the 6th and 7th of September, and the ratification exchanged in the course of the morning, Lieutenant-Colonel Burrard taking possession of the gates at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The object of securing the fleet having been attained, every other provision of a tendency to wound the feelings, or irritate the Danish nation, was avoided; and although the bombardment and cannonade had made considerable havoc in the town, it is to be remembered that not one shot was fired into it, until after it was summoned, with the offer of the most advantageous terms; nor a single shot after the first indication of a disposition to capitulate.

The British grenadiers with detachments from all the other corps of cavalry and infantry, under the command of Colonel Cameron of the 79th regiment, with two brigades of artillery, marched into the citadel, while Major-General Spencer, having embarked his brigade, crossed over in boats, landed in the dockyard, and took possession of the line of battle ships, and of the arsenal; the Danish guards withdrawing when the British were ready to replace them, and every regulation being made to preserve order, and secure the public property.

As the city of Copenhagen was still in a state of the greatest ferment and disorder, Lord Cathcart willingly acceded to the request that no British troops should be quartered in it, and that neither officers nor soldiers should enter it for some days; and having the command of possession from the citadel, whenever it might happen to be necessary to use it, he made no objection to leaving the other gates in the hands of the Danish troops, together with the police of the place, &c. The re-establishment of
the

the post was consented to, and every disposition was made on the part of the British to execute the unpleasant business on their hands, with every regard to the feelings of the unfortunate people.

The Danish navy, delivered up in consequence of this treaty, consisted of sixteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty five gunboats, besides vessels on the stocks; in the arsenals were found stores sufficient to fit this fleet for sea; and though all the men of war, both English and those captured, were laden with those stores, there still remained enough to fill 92 sail of transports, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand tons.

The loss sustained by the British, in both services, was comparatively trifling; but that of the Danes is computed to amount to about 2000 persons, with the destruction of nearly 400 houses, besides the burning of property, &c.

The damage done by the bombardment was considerable. The number of houses totally destroyed amounted to 305, and about 600 damaged. Among the former was the Great Cathedral, the steeple of which fell in with a dreadful crash. All the buildings in the neighbourhood of the cathedral were a heap of ruins, it being chiefly against that quarter that the bombardment was directed, probably, as it was said, from a wish to do the least possible injury, that being the worst built part of the town. A great part of the buildings of the university were also destroyed. The number of individuals who perished was reckoned at 600, and nearly as many severely wounded.

In short the distress and confusion in the city was truly horrible; but after the capitulation, the magistrates and principal inhabitants gave every relief to the unhappy sufferers, who were chiefly of the lowest classes. For this purpose several churches, which had not suffered from the bombardment, were fitted up for their reception; and it is much to the credit of the British Commander-in-Chief; that they offered to send

send in provisions and other necessities, but their proffered assistance was refused.

After the posts were thus taken possession of, the squadron proceeded to rig and fit out the ships that filled the spacious basins where they were laid up in ordinary, and at the expiration of the term limited in the capitulation, they were all, together with the stores, timber, and every other article of equipment found in the arsenal and storehouses, prepared for conveyance to England, where, with the exception of one line of battle ship, that grounded on the Isle of Huen, and was destroyed, they all arrived safely in the month of October.

On the return of Sir Arthur from Copenhagen, being in his place in the House on the 1st of February 1808, when the thanks were delivered by the Speaker to the various officers, he modestly replied :

“ Mr. Speaker : I consider myself fortunate that I was employed by his Majesty in a service which this House has considered of such importance, as to have marked with its approbation the conduct of those officers and troops who have performed it. The honour which this House has conferred upon my honourable friends and myself is justly considered by the officers of the navy and army, as the highest which this country can confer ; it is the object of the ambition of all who are employed in his Majesty’s service ; and to obtain it has been the motive of many of those acts of valour and good conduct, which have tended so eminently to the glory, and have advanced the prosperity and advantage, of this country. I can assure the House, that I am most sensible of the great honour which they have done me, and I beg leave to return you thanks, &c. &c. &c.”

In his official situation as Chief Secretary for Ireland, Sir Arthur had an arduous duty to perform in the House of Commons, particularly in every debate which respected that country. As some misrepresentations have gone abroad respecting his sentiments,

particularly on the Catholic question, we feel ourselves called upon to notice them here more particularly. On the 13th of April 1808, an active and liberal member, from the sister country, rose to draw the attention of the House to a circumstance respecting some Protestant institutions there, which he had before alluded to. He observed that a sort of catechism had been composed for these schools, called "The Protestant's Catechism," which did not dwell, as the catechisms we were best acquainted with, upon prayers, creed, or commandments, but went almost entirely to abuse the tenets of the Catholic church, which were completely misrepresented in it. Almost all the assertions which were in this book, respecting the doctrines of the Catholic religion, were completely, as he said, unfounded; he asserted that they were in contradiction to the doctrines which the Catholic children learned in their prayer-book, and which the Catholic body professed and avowed. He then read several extracts from this "Protestant Catechism," as it was called, and compared them with the Catholic prayer-book, and with the declaration solemnly subscribed by the Catholics. The effect, he complained, impressing such gross misrepresentations on the minds of young children, could be only to increase those religious animosities which every good man wished to allay as soon as possible. He complained that among the doctrines which 2000 children were now taught at those Protestant charter schools were these, "That the body of the Catholics conceived that no allegiance was due to the king, and that faith was not to be kept with heretics." It was evident, he observed, that they must hate those whom they conceived capable of entertaining such sentiments. At a time when the liberality of Parliament was appealed to in support of those institutions, he conceived it would be a proper time to reform this abuse, and to prevent such a catechism being taught at these schools.

In reply to this, Sir Arthur Wellesley expressed his sorrow that this subject had been drawn into discussion in that House. He said it had already engaged the attention of the Board of Education, who would probably give directions concerning it. For his part he certainly never had seen the "Protestant Catechism," nor was he acquainted with those documents, which the honourable Gentleman quoted, to refute it; but he thought that when he had stated what was taught in some schools, he ought also to have stated what was taught in others. He had been informed that at several Catholic schools children had been taught to read, not in the Bible, but in Paine's Rights of Man, and in books which gave an account of what the Roman Catholics of Ireland had suffered from the Protestants; an education which, in like manner, would breed them up in a fixed and rooted hatred of the Protestant cause.

On the 29th of the same month, when the question of a grant as usual to the Catholic college at Maynooth, was before the House, he was decidedly against any measure which should increase the number of Catholic priests in that seminary, on a conviction that the number provided for at that place, with those who were educated in the same profession, in other parts of Ireland, would be fully adequate to the necessary supply for all religious purposes. In opposition also to any increased grant, he contended that when the college at Maynooth was first instituted, it was not intended that it should be wholly supported out of the public purse; even the memorial, presented previously to the foundation of that establishment, merely prayed for a charter, in order that the funds might be better secured; and that of the numerous Catholic students who were educated on the continent before the French revolution, the fact was that most of them had received priest's orders before they went abroad, a great proportion of them actually

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supporting

supporting themselves by the exercise of their functions as priests.

From these observations, Sir Arthur Wellesley had his full share of the charge of intolerance ; but how little he deserved it is evident from his opinion delivered on a subsequent debate, respecting the appointment of Dr. Duigenan to a seat in the Privy Council of Ireland, on the 4th of May, when he expressly declared that his own opinion was that, without distinction of religion, every man ought to be called on to do service to the state, where he was particularly qualified to do that service ; and on that general ground he approved of the appointment without reference to religious squabbles, or to the indiscreet language which excessive zeal had produced on both sides of the House, every example of which ought to be as a warning to both sides to preserve coolness and liberality as far as possible. Thus, during a long and arduous session did he dedicate himself to the civil service of his country with as much advantage to it, and honour to himself, as he had heretofore done in the field ; and when we contemplate the records of Parliament in the years 1806, 7, and 8, it is impossible not to admire that manly comprehensiveness of mind, and liberality of sentiment, which fitted him for every discussion, and carried him through many warm debates without ever creating him a single enemy.

Even in May 1808, Sir Arthur continued his official services, and in that month brought in a bill for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons, upon their benefices in Ireland, and for erecting churches, and building glebe houses, in that kingdom. From these civil duties, however, he was soon called to take a command on the scene of his present glory ; we shall, therefore, postpone all further detail to the succeeding section.

SECTION V.

Conduct of Buonaparte towards Spain—Proposed emigration of the Spanish Royal family—Downfall of the Prince of Peace—Abdication of the Spanish king—Madrid taken possession of—Inauguration of King Ferdinand—Journey of King Ferdinand to Bayonne—Its consequences—Anecdotes of the Queen of Spain—Anecdotes of Buonaparte—Massacre of the inhabitants of Madrid by the French—Anecdotes of that event—Joseph placed on the throne of Spain—Anecdotes of the intrusive king—Enthusiastic patriotism of the Spanish people—Evacuation of Madrid by the French—Enthusiasm of England in the Spanish cause—Expedition prepared to defend Portugal, and succour Spain—Sir Arthur Wellesley proceeds to Spain—Joins the British admiral off the Tagus—returns to Mondego Bay in Portugal—Lands the army—Anecdotes—March of the army—Anecdotes of the French Generals—Topographical and military sketches of the country—March to Roleia—Attack and defeat of the French—Anecdotes—Military letters—Reinforcements arrive from England—Arrival of Sir Harry Burrard—Battle of Vimiera—Sir Arthur Wellesley superseded in the command—Arrival of Sir Hew Dalrymple—Convention of Cintra—Anecdotes of the French, &c.—Military and political observations—Sir Arthur Wellesley returns to England—Court of Inquiry—Observations—Explanation of Sir Arthur's conduct—Issue of the Court of Inquiry, and his Majesty's marked displeasure at the Convention—&c. &c. &c.

BEFORE we enter upon the important services performed by the subject of our biography in the Peninsula, it is necessary to take a slight retrospect of the political events which led to those occurrences, as such an investigation will not only render the subsequent events more intelligible, but also prove more fully the extent of the advantages gained by this country, and by the general cause of liberty in Europe, from his gallantry, prudence, and perseverance.

No sooner had Buonaparte concluded the treaty of Tilsit, by which he had subjugated the north of Europe, than he turned his attention to the west of the continent; and not content with having the resources of Spain and Portugal, and their transatlantic dominions,

minions, at his command, resolved to complete their final destruction, by placing some of his own family and minions upon their dishonoured thrones.

To pursue his nefarious attempts through all their various ramifications would far exceed our limits ; it is sufficient to bring to the recollection of our readers, that whilst the Royal family and government of Spain were in a state of confusion, he took advantage of the opportunity, to pour large bodies of French troops into the Spanish territory ; nay, so great was the infatuation, supposing that they only came to preserve order and tranquillity, that the government actually issued orders to receive and treat the French even on a more liberal scale than was used towards their own native army. By these means, in a very short time, all the most important posts and fortresses of Spain, nay, the whole of Portugal, were in French occupancy, when Napoleon ventured to throw off the mask, by complaining to the King of Spain that the measure of uniting the Prince of Asturias to one of his own relatives was not in sufficient forwardness. The unhappy monarch had no course left, but to express his wishes for the immediate solemnization of the marriage ; to which Buonaparte only replied by sending his creature, Don Eugenio Isquierdo, back to Madrid with confidential communications, the proceedings on which were conducted with such secrecy, that their tenor can only be known from the fact that soon after his departure from the Spanish capital, to return to Paris with the issue of his negotiations, the unfortunate King and Queen, for unfortunate they must be reckoned, notwithstanding the folly of the one, and the improper conduct of the other, had begun to make preparations to emigrate from their native country to their transatlantic dominions in Mexico.*

Deprived

* It is possible that this was the very object of Napoleon's wishes ; as he had already driven the Royal Family of Portugal to the same alternative :

Spanish Royal Family.

Deprived of what they considered the support of the Prince of Peace, the unhappy occupants of the Spanish throne dared no longer attempt to exercise the royal power, but immediately put in execution that resolution, which it has been asserted they had for some time entertained, of resigning the sovereign power to the Prince of Asturias.

The subsequent occurrences took the arch contriver rather unexpectedly, as he did not look for such energy upon the part of the Spanish people; in fact, he had imagined that the people, instead of being merely dissatisfied with the abuses which had crept into the administration, were absolutely estranged from the persons of their royal family; and that as the royal family must by that time have been already on the coast, if not embarked, he would be received with open arms, and considered as the guardian angel of Spain, and

ternative: but the facilities for its execution on the part of their Spanish majesties were not so great as in the former case, they being resident in the very heart of their kingdom, far from any of their own seaports, and without the certainty of a British squadron being ready to convoy them in their banishment, as had been the case in the former instance. To this we must add the fears of the people, perhaps their love, notwithstanding all that had happened to shake their loyalty; for it is well ascertained, that scarcely had the first reports gone abroad of the intentions of the royal family to abandon their capital and their palaces in its vicinity in order to proceed to Seville, than discontent and fear were exhibited, in the most lively colours, in the features of all the inhabitants of Madrid, and in short of all ranks and classes of persons.

As the probability of the intended emigration became more evident, the fears of the people increased; and, at length, a popular commotion took place, on the 17th and 18th of March, like a sudden explosion; for there can be traced nothing like the formation of any concerted plan; indeed, as it has been aptly said, the people merely seemed actuated by a sort of instinct of self preservation. Immediately the infamous Godoy was thrown into prison, as it was supposed that the plan had principally originated with him, for the purpose of withdrawing himself, and some portion of that wealth which he had wrung from the people of Spain, or received from France for his treachery; and, in fact, to save himself from the vengeance of an outraged and insulted people.

and for that purpose he had already ordered Murat to advance with his army to Madrid.

The French general judging the present circumstances favourable to his master's cause, immediately advanced to Madrid; giving out, with true French finesse, that Buonaparte might be expected immediately at the capital, whilst the mysterious obscurity of Buonaparte's projects, and the proximity of his troops, all operated on the Prince of Asturias to make him anxious, at least for the present, to conciliate the good will of the invader. In fact, so very anxious was he to avert or to avoid any cause of displeasure, that after having communicated his accession to the throne in the most friendly, affectionate, and even submissive, terms, he actually sent a deputation of three of the first grandes to Bayonne, to compliment his Imperial Majesty in his name.*

Murat now played his masterstroke of policy; for, having possessed himself of the Spanish capital, he avowed that his political interference was now necessary; and that until the *Emperor* acknowledged Ferdinand VII. it was impossible for him to take any step that should appear like an acknowledgment of his right to the crown; and that, in fact, he was under the necessity of treating only with the former monarch. Those who had supported the son, certainly in opposition to the father, now saw the tables completely turned, and too soon knew what they had to depend upon; whilst, to give some colour to it, Murat listened to the solicitations of the King and Queen

* To preserve the impression produced on the minds of all by the expected arrival of Buonaparte, Murat gave all the necessary orders for preparing apartments in the royal palace for so august a guest; and the unfortunate Ferdinand was so alarmed at the expected visit, and at his own actual state of insecurity, that he wrote again to Napoleon, to say how agreeable it would be for him to be personally acquainted with *his Majesty*, and to assure him from his own lips of his ardent desire to strengthen more and more the alliance which subsisted between the two nations.

Queen to release their favourite Godoy from imprisonment.

In this state of things, as Cevallos informs us in his very lucid exposition of those events, the young monarch made his public entry into Madrid, unattended by parade, but accompanied by a most numerous concourse of the inhabitants of the capital and its vicinity, who expressed the strongest feelings of love and loyalty, rending the air with acclamations of joy and enthusiasm.

This public expression of feeling was too much in opposition to the French plans not to make it necessary for them to remove Ferdinand as speedily as possible; and as it was judged impossible to effect it by force, a deep laid scheme was commenced, for the accomplishment of which Murat and his agents reiterated the reports of the immediate arrival of Napoleon. By these means he induced the King's brother, Don Carlos, to set off with great haste to meet him; and whilst he cajoled Ferdinand himself with promises of Napoleon's support, his agents were busy in persuading the late King and Queen to enter a protest against their own act of abdication.

With promises of friendship and favour Murat continued to urge the youthful monarch to proceed towards the north in order to compliment his *Imperial Majesty* on his arrival in Spain; and, to combat the objections which he still had to this measure, General Savary was made to act the part of an extraordinary envoy just returned with certain intelligence of Napoleon's immediate arrival.*

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After

* Savary also, as instructed by the usurper himself, assured the unfortunate Ferdinand that he was sent to Paris merely to compliment his Majesty, and to know whether his sentiments, with respect to France, were conformable to those of the abdicated monarch; in which case the *gracious* Napoleon would forego all considerations of what had already taken place, would in no degree interfere in the internal affairs of the kingdom, and would immediately recognize him as lawful king of Spain and the Indies.

After the most insidious representations, and the most barefaced falsehoods, the misled monarch yielded to the solicitations of Savary, who, when the day of his departure was fixed, affected the most zealous and friendly attention to his Majesty; and with great humility solicited the honour of accompanying him on this journey, which he assured him could not possibly extend further than to Burgos, near to which place he assured him Buonaparte had actually arrived. Influenced, and perhaps intimidated, by these representations, Ferdinand left his capital, professedly only for a few days, appointing a supreme junta to manage the government during his short absence: but not having met the *august* Buonaparte at Burgos, he was induced by the earnest and pressing entreaties of Savary to proceed on to Vittoria. There, however, he resolved to stop; and so well convinced was Savary of his resolution, that he continued his own journey to Bayonne, in order to inform Napoleon of the ill-success of his machinations, and to procure fresh instructions.

Happy might it have been for Ferdinand and his people, had he returned from Vittoria to Madrid; but there he actually received information of Napoleon's arrival at Bourdeaux, in his way to Spain, and soon after of his being at Bayonne on the 15th of April.*

Still the deluded monarch trusted to the honour of France, though the French troops already in that neighbourhood were making some very suspicious movements, evidently for the purpose of cutting off his retreat. At this unhappily indecisive period, Savary returned with a letter from Napoleon
inviting

* This city, thus contaminated by Corsican villany and French oppression, was once in the possession of England, and was for a considerable time the residence of our favourite hero, Edward the Black Prince. It is further remarkable that he there received the visit of Don Pedro, the exiled king of Castile, who requested his assistance in the recovery of that kingdom; and from that place the English force marched which went to restore him.

inviting him to meet him at Bayonne; to which Savary himself added the most vehement protestations of the interest which his Emperor took in the affairs of Spain; and repeatedly asserted, "I will suffer my head to be cut off, if, within a quarter of an hour after your Majesty's arrival at Bayonne, the Emperor shall not have recognized you as King of Spain and the Indies. To support his *own* consistency he will probably begin by giving you the title of Highness; but in five minutes he will give you that of Majesty, and in three days every thing will be settled, and your Majesty may return to Spain immediately." Such was the vulgar ruffianly address of this disciple of liberty; and, notwithstanding its grossness and absurdity, for it certainly was not much above the level of a discarded footman and his master, the ill-judging monarch, after a little hesitation, determined to proceed to Bayonne, in direct opposition to the opinion of Cevallos and his other attendants, and indeed to the solicitations of the people of Vittoria.

The succeeding events form a melancholy picture of degraded majesty; for scarcely had Ferdinand crossed the limits of Spain when he began to express his surprise that no person had yet come to receive him; nor was it until his arrival at St. Jean de Luz that any notice was taken of him, at which place the mayor and municipality attended to pay their respects.

To retreat would now have been impossible; but it seems that Napoleon still thought it necessary to carry on the farce a little longer; and accordingly, as soon as the royal carriage stopped, the well instructed mayor addressed his Majesty with the most lively expressions of joy at having the honour of being the first to receive a king who was the friend and ally of France. The three grandees also, already spoken of, made their appearance, assuring the deluded Prince of the intentions of Napoleon in the most flattering style. He, therefore, proceeded on his journey; and, on his ap-

proach to Bayonne, was met by the Prince of Neufchatel, and Duroc, the Marshal of the Palace, accompanied by a detachment of the guard of honour which the citizens of Bayonne had formed to attend upon Napoleon. These gentry invited Ferdinand to proceed for Bayonne, where a place had been prepared for his residence; and there he arrived on the 20th of April; but his suspicions were now a little more alarmed by the circumstance of this abode being but little suitable to the rank of its royal guest. He seems also to have been much struck by this remarkable and expressive neglect forming a striking contrast with the studied magnificence with which he had prepared for the reception of the upstart Emperor at Madrid. In fact, the whole scene made a great impression on him; but whilst he was engaged in considering his feelings and his doubts concerning the meaning of a reception which he had so little right to expect, it was announced to him that Napoleon was on the way to pay him a visit. In a short time he arrived, accompanied by a number of his generals; and the youthful monarch having gone down to the street door to receive him, the two monarchs embraced each other with every appearance of friendship and affection. The Emperor of the French, as it is related by an eyewitness, staid but a short time with his Majesty, and they embraced each other again at parting; when, soon after, Marshal Duroc came to invite the King to dine with Napoleon, whose carriages were coming to convey him to the castle of Marsac, about a mile and a half from Bayonne, then the residence of the French court. On his arrival there Buonaparte came as far as the steps of the coach to receive him; and having again embraced him, led him by the hand to the apartment provided for him.

During these occurrences the Queen of Spain had interested herself very much with Murat for the release of Godoy; and in consequence Buonaparte him-

self had written to Ferdinand VII. *previous* to his having him in his power, to which the young monarch had merely answered that Godoy's life should be spared. But Buonaparte immediately wrote to Murat to demand him from the *Junta*, asserting that he had been placed at *his* disposal, in consequence of which falsehood, accompanied by many verbal threats, he was released, and immediately conveyed to Bayonne escorted by a guard; and there he arrived on the 26th of April, had a castle appointed for his residence, and was treated in all respects as a person of the first consequence: and on the last day of the same month the abdicated monarch with his consort arrived there also, thus putting the whole of the Spanish royal family into the power of Napoleon.

To follow up the occurrences which ensued after this, previous to the final imprisonment of the different branches of the royal family, and to trace the deep policy and crafty villany of Buonaparte through the whole transaction, would be to encroach too much on our own subject.* We shall proceed, therefore,

* One occurrence which took place on this occasion is almost too incredible for history, and perhaps surpasses events of any former times.

In the evening of the 5th of May, Napoleon went to visit the king and queen; and there were present at this interview their son Don Carlos, Godoy, and several of the Spanish grandees. After some time the young Ferdinand was sent for to hear, as one present had observed, "in the presence of the Emperor expressions so disgusting and humiliating, that I dare not record them." The real scene, however, is known to have been thus:—the Queen, in a transport of passion, addressing Ferdinand, cried out, "Traitor! you have for years meditated the death of the King *your father*; but thanks to the vigilance, the zeal, and the loyalty, of the Prince of Peace, you have not been able to effect your purpose; neither you, nor any of the infamous traitors who have co-operated with you for the accomplishment of your designs. I tell you to your face that you are my son, *but not the son of the King!* and yet, without having any other right to the crown than those of your mother, you have sought to tear it from us by force. But I agree and demand that the Emperor Napoleon shall be umpire between us; Napoleon, to whom we cede and transfer our rights, to the exclusion of our own family. I call on him to punish you and your asso-

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therefore, to the public cause of Spain, whose inhabitants paid very little attention to the various acts of abdication and renunciation in favour of Napoleon, but seemed determined to act for themselves.

The policy of Buonaparte induced him to send also for the Queen of Etruria and her son, (daughter and grandson of the Spanish king,) then at Madrid; but this the populace opposed; though, at last, they permitted the unhappy prisoners to set off. The sorrow and alarm, however, of the queen and her son, had such an effect that the popular resentment and indignation were raised to the highest pitch, when an *Aid-du-Camp* of Murat's arrived with a detachment of French troops, and a scene of the bloodiest carnage commenced. It has been a matter of debate who were the first aggressors; but that is of trifling consequence; it is enough that the French began with volleys of musquetry, by which numbers were killed, many of whom had not joined in the affray.* The news immediately spread like wild fire, and every person, who could procure arms, rushed to the scene of action.† The issue of this business unhappily only tended

ciates as so many traitors, and abandon to him the whole Spanish nation."

If one had leisure for any other sensation than that of horror at such a scene, it would be a sensation of detestation for the arch usurper who by his emissaries and arts had produced it; and of contempt for him also, in venturing, on an abdication of *such a nature*, to found his claims to the subjugation of a brave, but depressed, and indeed in some measure degenerated, people.

* Amongst the rest a beautiful infant, only eight years old, was killed at a window by the first volley, which took place about eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

† The whole of this scene is so much connected with the rise and progress of the Spanish revolution, or rather with *Spanish resistance to revolution*, that we cannot avoid giving a few details, as a just example of French friendship. In the early part of the business, the populace had the best of it in various parts of the city, although the Spanish troops had no share in the affray, being restrained by their officers within their barracks. A great many of the French were killed,

tended to rivet more closely the chains of the capital, and indeed in some measure to crush, in its very infamy,

ed, and their arms supplied such of the Spaniards as had none of their own. But as soon as the dispositions directed by Murat began to be carried into effect, the advantage, as might be expected, began to be on the side of the French. In fact, all the French troops in the city were brought out. Each column had flying artillery with which they scoured the streets as they advanced, and which were afterwards placed in spots from whence they could do most execution. The French poured volleys of musquet shot into the streets as they crossed or passed by the ends of them, aiming particularly at the windows and balconies; for the Spaniards, when driven from the streets, retired to their houses, from whence they fired on the different French columns. In many places the French burst open the houses, and massacred men, women, and children. The spot where the Spanish citizens made the most glorious defence was at the storehouse of artillery, which, besides ammunition, contained arms for ten thousand men. To this spot Murat sent a detachment to take possession; but they found it already occupied by a small number of the citizens, with some artillery men under the command of two gallant artillery officers, called Doaize and Valayde. A twenty-four pounder charged with grape-shot, placed at the gate of the storehouse, in front of a long and narrow street, and levelled at a point blank range, made such havoc amongst the French column as it advanced, that its commander was obliged to send to Murat for a reinforcement. Two other columns were dispatched with all speed to his succour; and these columns attacked the small garrison, on both flanks, from the windows and tops of the adjoining houses, repeatedly summoning it to surrender. The gallant few, however, refused to listen to these propositions, and the constancy of their officers remained unshaken until the very last moment of their existence: but Velayde was soon killed by a musquet shot, and Doaize, who although his thigh was broken by a cannon shot still continued to give his orders as he supported himself leaning with his elbow on the ground with the greatest composure, at length received three other wounds, the last of which put an end to his glorious life. On this, the command of the little party devolved on a Corporal of the artillery, who, finding that all further resistance must be ineffectual, at length agreed to surrender the place.

The affair was at length put an end to; not so much by the military force of the French, as by the personal interposition of the members of the council of Castile, and of the other tribunals, who flew from one street to another on horseback, accompanied by several Spanish noblemen, with some French generals, and escorted by parties of cavalry of both the nations. Yet this generous interference weighed not

fancy, the rising spirit of the Spanish people, who were now called upon by a proclamation of their late monarch,

not with the ferocious invaders; for in the afternoon, when the poor inhabitants flattered themselves that the carnage was at an end, Murat issued general orders for the immediate formation of a military tribunal, of which the bloodthirsty *Grouchy* was appointed president. Before this tribunal all persons were brought who had been made prisoners in the early part of the day, or had been found in the streets with any kind of arms about them, or any implements whatever that might possibly have been used, or could be considered as weapons of destruction. In short, all those who were found with musquets, swords, or even penknives and scissars, were considered as equally guilty, ordered instantly to be shot, and the sentence carried into execution without a moment's delay.

In this horrible massacre there were only ten thousand French troops, but then there were 50,000 in the vicinity; so that if the Spanish populace had put the whole of the first number to death, still the city must have endured a fresh scene of massacre and desolation from the others.—And all this, to set the son of the wife of a Corsican pettyfogger upon the Throne of Spain!!

This horrid scene has also been thus described by an English Lady:

“ Words cannot describe the horror with which we have been surrounded since the first of this month; the approaching storm was expected; but on the 2d, immediately after breakfast, it broke out in the most furious manner. Our friend T— had provided a retreat at his country house, about six miles distant, to which we were to remove that evening: but the storm overtook us, and stopped our journey. The thunder of the artillery announced the business; and, in a few minutes after, the whole male population of the city appeared in arms; wherever a French soldier was discovered, he was instantly shot or cut down; six of them were put to death under our windows: the scene was dreadful beyond description.

After two or three hours' carnage, particularly in our great street called Alcala, a reinforcement of Frenchmen poured into the town, and in their turn became the assailants; our doors were burst open by the defeated populace, and seven or eight of the inhabitants took refuge under the couches, and in different parts of the house; but the French soldiers followed them, and in my presence they most unmercifully bayonneted those who had first entered the room, where I and my children sat shivering with horror. The presence of a young French officer protected us; and he had the humanity to continue in the house the entire of this fatal day, to whom I certainly owe the lives of myself and children. All night the inhabitants were forced to illuminate their windows, and fifteen dreadful looking fellows took entire possession of the lower part of the house; they soon broke open the

Proclamation of Buonaparte.

monarch, dated at Bayonne on the 4th of May, to obey Murat as the Lieutenant-General and viceroy of the kingdom, by his new title of "Grand Duke of Berg," and his still newer one of "Cousin to the King of Spain."

Every means that could be taken to ensure the complete subjugation of Spain, and to prepare for the reception of the "Intrusive King," were now put in force, not only by threats of vengeance, but by all kinds of internal regulation favourable to the French cause.

In aid of his designs, however, Buonaparte found it necessary to pay some attention to the prejudices as well as the wishes of the Spanish people; and he therefore called an assembly of the Notables throughout the kingdom, who were to send deputies to Bayonne, for the purpose of forming a new constitution; and, in the latter end of May, he published a proclamation, in which he had the audacity to insinuate, nay, almost to assert, that he was commissioned from Heaven to reform their government, and to make them a great, a glorious, and a *happy* nation. "Your Princes," said he, "have ceded to me their rights to the crown of Spain.—Your nation is old; my *mission* is to restore it to its youth." The farce of assembling the *representatives* of the Spanish nation at Bayonne, to confirm this *cession*, was now got up, and all the performers, or rather the *puppets*, went through their parts with great applause. The Spanish nation, however, had now opened its eyes, and was not to be blinded, even by

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the cellars, which they plundered, nor could the presence of the friendly officer prevent them. The following morning was a scene of horror; almost every person that passed through the streets was stained with blood, and the dead bodies lay in heaps; it was reported, and I believe with truth, that Murat intended to erect some works outside the town, to batter it to the ground, in revenge for the lives of his soldiers. This, however, he abandoned. Next day we were suffered to remove to Ombro, &c.—"

the inauguration of king Joseph, with a whole train of unworthy Spaniards at his heels, though some of them were of the first families in the country.*

Nor were the patriots of Spain even misled by the proclamations of their former princes, (who now, hurried as prisoners into the interior of France, were content to sign any thing, for the preservation of their lives,) but in a manner almost miraculous, not only in the provinces at home, but even in their most distant colonies, started up simultaneously, "as if moved by one indignant soul into an attitude of defence and defiance, and declared eternal war against their perfidious and insolent oppressors; an event which certainly astonished all Europe: and no one, perhaps, more than the tyrant, who had treated them with so much contempt."

The enthusiasm which burst forth in this country, in favour of the Spanish cause, both on the part of the government and of the people, is well remembered; and perhaps never were the exertions of a government so universally applauded by a people as upon that occasion.

In Spain, the *insurrection*, as it was called, spread rapidly; provincial juntas were established, which were soon resolved into one supreme central junta; a friendly concert was immediately established between the patriots and the various British naval and military

* The French seemed determined that the Buonaparte family should be both Herods and Adonises, and the following was actually inserted in a Spanish newspaper under their influence. "The Diario de Manresa has stated in one of its numbers, that his Majesty Joseph the First is crooked, lame, and humpbacked. Doubtless neither the graces of the body, nor any external accomplishments, ought to be regarded as qualities which render princes objects of respect. We can assert, however, that our monarch is well proportioned, though of a middle stature; and that to the fine qualities of the heart and the head, which eminently distinguish him, he joins regularity of features, and a lively and agreeable physiognomy. For the rest, this prince is known throughout all France, and a great part of Europe, and will soon be equally well known in Spain. In the mean time enough has been said in reply to the effrontery and falsehood of the Diario de Manresa."

military officers in the vicinity of Spain ; the greatest harmony prevailed amongst the various provinces ; and the French fleet in Cadiz harbour was taken possession of.

In Portugal too the sacred flame of liberty began to spread, and was fostered by the judicious conduct of the British admiral, Sir Charles Cotton ; an alliance offensive and defensive was entered into by the two regenerated nations of the Peninsula ; and the friendliest relations were established between them and Great Britain.

Events of the most important nature, previous to our taking an active part, now took place with the greatest rapidity. In Andalusia, the battle of Baylen, and the subsequent surrender of the French army under Dupont, gave great spirits to the patriotic cause, and the *French imperial armies* were repulsed by almost unarmed citizens in every quarter.

From Valencia, General Moncey was repulsed with slaughter and disgrace ; at Saragossa, * the
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* Without entering minutely into the details of the Spanish exertions, we may notice a proof of the general enthusiasm on the 15th of June, during the battle of Saragossa. This was of the most desperate description. The first assault of the French produced a sanguinary conflict of two hours' duration ; which was still of doubtful issue, when the brave patriots became furious, and, with irresistible impetuosity, fell upon their opponents, and gave no quarter to any that fell into their power. The result was a complete and signal defeat of the French army. The enemy having been reinforced renewed the attack on the 30th, and the action which ensued continued until the 2d of July, when they were again defeated with immense slaughter. Several thousand women followed the brave patriots to battle, continually cheering their husbands, sons, and brothers, and uttering sentiments of the utmost detestation and abhorrence of the infamous oppressors of their country. They carried with them flaggons of wine, with which they occasionally refreshed the fatigued patriots. Fearless of death, many of them shared the perils of the conflict with their heroic countrymen ; and, to the eternal disgrace of the enemy be it related, five of these virtuous heroines, to whom the generosity of the ancients would have paid the most devout respect, were most cruelly put to death by the savage ruffians into whose power they unfortunately had fallen.

very women acquired military renown; at Gerona, also, even the monks became a church militant; and although the French General Duhesme marked his progress round Barcelona, and indeed throughout the north and east of Spain, with the utmost rapacity and cruelty, yet the issue of the battles of Cabezón and of Medina del Río Seco made it necessary for the “Intrusive King,” with his army, to leave Madrid.* The liberation of the Spanish troops in the north of Germany, so insidiously drawn away

* On this occasion, according to his usual custom, Joseph plundered all he could lay his hands on, taking away the jewels and plate of the palaces, &c. on which it became a common jest among the Spaniards, “that not being able to keep the crown upon his head, he had put it in his pocket.”

The French having prepared every thing for their march from Madrid on the 1st of August, (Joseph having already set off on the 31st of July,) on the preceding evening they forced open the gates of the public treasury and bank, putting the inhabitants in such terror that they passed a most anxious night, thinking that a general pillage was about to take place. At two in the morning a cannonade was heard, which, though at first considered as a fatal signal, was in fact but the precursor of the brightest and happiest day that ever rose over Madrid. On this signal all the guards were withdrawn, and all the French filed off towards the parade, whence they marched off. Scarcely did day appear when all the people ran through the streets, and the posts of the guards, but nothing was to be found. They passed to the Retiro (a palace in the environs) and there they found only a few dying wretches, and here and there a dead body. They beheld, with amazement, the ditches, pallisadoes, and terrible batteries directed against the city. The gun carriages were in flames; above 70 cannon were spiked; and about 2000 barrels of powder thrown into a large pond. The inhabitants of Madrid, on seeing themselves delivered from the destructive apparatus, gave thanks to the Supreme Being, and immediately began to assume for their badge the portrait of Ferdinand the 7th.

With respect to Joseph's conduct at Madrid it was well observed that pride and insult accompanied his arrival; whilst fear and felony attended his departure. On Monday, he exposed his august person to the eager view of the populace, and on the Saturday was glad to take away his august person with all possible secrecy and dispatch. He entered Madrid as a powerful monarch; he quitted it like a thief. Such are the Buonapartes: if they cannot govern they can steal; and if they cannot be permitted to play the part of kings, they will content themselves with performing that of thieves and robbers.

away by Buonaparte, and their return to their native country, gave fresh spirits to the patriots ; whilst the progress of the insurrection in Portugal induced the British government to adopt a system of active co-operation ; and the French being now driven from the northern provinces of Spain, an army under the command of *Sir Arthur Wellesley*, though destined for Portugal, where indeed it ultimately landed, was now sent out, and its first assistance offered to the Spaniards.

This expedition, which at first consisted of about 10,000 men, was assembled in Ireland, and sailed from Cork on the 12th of July,* arriving at Corunna on the 20th of that month. A few days before his arrival at this port, the battle of Rio Seco had taken place ; and the Spaniards, unable to retain their positions, were then retreating fast in different directions. Cuesta was then proceeding with one division to Salamanca ; and Blake, with another, was pushing on for the mountains of Asturias.

Sir Arthur Wellesley immediately, according to the spirit of his instructions, and influenced by the intelligence he received, offered the assistance of the force under his command to the junta of Galicia ; but they replied that they did not want men, and that they required nothing from the British government, but money, arms, and ammunition. At the same time, they expressed their confident expectation that the British army might be of great service to the general cause, if it could be employed in driving

* Sir Arthur Wellesley still retained his situation as chief secretary to the Lord Lieutenant ; and some altercation having taken place on that subject in the British Parliament, it turned out, much to his credit and self-denial, that he did not receive any salary, and therefore was honourably clear of all charges of participating in a job. Indeed his disinterestedness has appeared on many other occasions, and is even now most fully exemplified in his constantly refusing to accept those pecuniary offers which the generous gratitude of both Spain and Portugal have repeatedly offered to him.

driving the French out of Lisbon. It was also stated that the French were still in force in the north of Portugal, not very distant from Galicia; and therefore against them, in the first place, Sir Arthur might commence an attack with every probability of success, and with the certainty of relieving the province of Galicia, if the insurrection at Oporto still existed, or could be revived when he reached that city.

His services thus declined at Corunna, Sir Arthur sailed to Oporto, where he was informed by the bishop, who then acted as governor, that the Portuguese force in the north was fully sufficient to repel any probable attack of the French. In order now to ascertain *where* his forces might be of assistance, Sir Arthur left his little army at Oporto, and proceeded off Lisbon, for the purpose of having a conference with the English admiral, Sir Charles Cotton; and with him he consulted on the practicability of forcing the entrance of the river Tagus, and making an attack upon Lisbon. The business was decided, however, immediately, by his receiving a letter from General Spencer, who was then off Cadiz with about 6000 men. It had been intended that this force should co-operate with the Spanish army under Castanos, in their operations against Dupont in Andalusia, or else in conjunction with Sir Arthur Wellesley's army; and as the Seville junta thought the aid of the British totally unnecessary for the former service, and Sir Arthur was very judiciously of opinion, that little could be expected from either his own force, or the smaller one of General Spencer, singly considered, he immediately sent orders to the latter officer to join him in order to proceed upon a plan of operations in Portugal, preconcerted with the naval commander. He, therefore, joined his own division; and, having procured all the information possible respecting the actual numerical strength and disposition of the French army, determined to make a landing in Mondego bay, to the northward of Lis-

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bon, where, although an open bay, yet he trusted he would be able to effect a landing, and to form his army in order of service without any immediate opposition from the enemy; and perhaps even be assisted and supported by the Portuguese troops, which had already assembled and advanced towards Coimbra.

Whilst preparing for these measures, Sir Arthur received dispatches from the British government informing him that 5000 men, under General Anstruther, were proceeding to join him, and that 12,000 more under Sir John Moore would speedily be sent for the same purpose. Along with this he received information from the shore that Dupont had surrendered, and that the army of Junot* was considerably

* General Junot, calling himself Duke of Abrantes, which he has assumed as one of the most ancient extinct titles of Portugal, is the son of a petty corn-chandler, at Orleans, and was engaged in the servile drudgery of his father's business so late as the year 1789; but his dissolute habits having induced him to make rather free with his father's cash, the old man not approving of this species of equality, turned him out of his house; the pupil of liberty immediately proceeded to Paris, where his *active philosophy* soon introduced him to some of the members of the Jacobin club, who, judging him fit for their purposes, supported him a short time in the capital. The operations on the southern frontier requiring an augmentation of the national army, Citizen Junot, in his zeal to regenerate the country of Nice, which at that time was rather unenlightened, took up his musquet and marched for Provence; and after the ravaging of the territory of Nice, in which this active citizen displayed his *civism* and *philanthropy*, he was with the army in Provence at the time of the evacuation of Toulon by the British and Spanish forces. During the short siege, serving with the artillery, he attracted the notice of Buonaparte, who was then *Chef de Brigade*; it has been stated, that Napoleon, during an heavy cannonade, enquiring if any one near him could write, Junot immediately offered his services; and, whilst employed on a drum head, a shot striking the ground close to his side covered him with dust. Undismayed at the event he coolly observed, that he wanted sand for his letter. "You are a gallant soldier," exclaimed Napoleon, "how can I serve you?" "Give me promotion," said he, "I shall not disgrace it." He was immediately made a sejeant, and chosen by Buonaparte as his orderly; and displayed such abilities and coolness, that he soon obtained the rank of an officer.

bly weakened, by the absolute necessity of detaching 6,000 troops under the command of General Loison* to

On the surrender of Toulon he made himself particularly noticed by his share in the atrocities which were inflicted on all those who had favoured the British, when all those who had even lodged an Englishman in their houses, or who were suspected of being favourable to the old regime, were assembled in the *Champ de Mars*, and butchered in cold blood, to the amount of fifteen hundred men, women, and children, an exploit boasted of by *his friend*, when he wrote to the Convention "upon the field of glory, my feet inundated with the blood of traitors, I announce to you, with a heart beating with joy, that your orders are executed, and France avenged!" In the following autumn, when Napoleon was arrested as a terrorist, after the death of Robespierre, Junot shared his fate; but, being liberated by a general amnesty, he followed the fortunes of his patron, and was appointed his Aid-de-Camp when elevated to the rank of Commander-in-Chief in 1796. This promotion is supposed to have been greatly owing to his intermediate services at Paris, particularly on the 4th of October 1795, when, on the contest between the National Convention and the Sections of Paris, respecting the new constitution, Buonaparte, with his artillery, swept the streets in all directions, killing and wounding without mercy or distinction, till upwards of eight thousand of both sexes, and of all ages, were left weltering in their blood.

Throughout the campaigns in Italy he acquitted himself so as to preserve the confidence of his general, particularly at Mondovi, at Milan, and at Pavia, where by his cruel atrocities and skill in plundering, he proved his capability of commanding, and was promoted to the rank of Colonel. When the expedition sailed for Egypt he embarked as aid-de-camp, and took an active part in that country, and in Syria, where he shared Buonaparte's most secret confidence, with the infamous Duroc, now Grand Master of the Ceremonies at Paris; but, owing to some unaccountable accident, he was not one of those so slyly brought off by Napoleon, when he escaped by stealth, not only from the British, who were looking after him, but also from his own army. He was therefore left until 1802, when he returned to France "covered with glory;" but on his arrival was immediately appointed General of Division, and soon after Governor of Paris; here his despotic and cruel disposition made him an able supporter of Fouché, whom he rivalled in cruelty and extortion; and he was strongly suspected of being, as well as Fouché, the private encourager of a daring gang of house-breakers and footpads, who were the terror of the capital in the winter of 1803, and of whom the few that were detected, and brought to justice, were invariably screened by some invisible power, and permitted to elude all punishment. He resigned this command in 1805, to our Imperial Brother, Prince Murat; and we believe that it was shortly after this he chose an *Albanian Princess* for his spouse, who is the

to quell an insurrection that had broken out in the south of Portugal.

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the present Duchess of Abrantes. When Lasnes had *completed his fortune* in Portugal, or when he was wanted for some other purpose, Junot superseded him at Lisbon, where, if his conduct at first was not so brutal as that of his predecessor, it was yet as abandoned and oppressive, though clothed in deep dissimulation. On the retreat of the Portuguese Court, Junot took the command of the French troops destined to occupy Portugal, when he shewed his character in its true colours, by outraging the forms of religion, by general conscriptions of all property, and by every revolutionary meanness and atrocity which have so long disgraced the arms of France. Of his cruelty, dissimulation, and more recent robberies, it is unnecessary to give a detail; they are fresh in the memories of all, as well as his boasting about the reception he would give the British troops, who have already given him a lesson: the wealth he had acquired in Portugal was very great, but of that he was completely stript by subsequent events at Lisbon; but he has still a large property left, which, including the lands granted him in Poland, is supposed to amount to 17,000*l. per annum*. He is now in the vigour of life, but most uncouth and vulgar in his appearance; his face is seamed with scars, and his manners are rude, boorish, and obtrusive; he is ignorant of all kinds of learning, yet is reckoned remarkable for his decision and capability; and certainly his conduct as a general, since the landing of our troops in Portugal, did not belie the general opinion formed of him. Of his *honour* the following anecdote is told, which we believe to be correct, though we do not vouch for its authenticity. Whilst Governor of Paris, he was in the habit of frequenting the gambling houses; and one evening at Frescati, in plain clothes, accompanied by a young man in the same costume, he stood near one of the tables where this young man staked *rouleaux* apparently of fifty *louis d'ors*, at *rouge et noir*. When the young man lost, he always took up his *stake*, and laid down another in its stead; but when at last he won, he exultingly told the banker to count the *stake* in *his rouleau*, when it was found to contain bank notes to the amount of one hundred thousand livres, about 4500*l.* A demand so extraordinary induced the bankers to refer it to the company, when Junot immediately interposed, said the young man was his Aid-de-Camp, and swore if they did not pay him instantly, that he would confiscate the bank, and arrest every individual of the company; but not intimidated by this threat they refused payment, when this *just republican*, seized the cash on the table; but a tumult taking place, the guard was called in, and ordered to take sixteen of them to prison, where they remained until they could *settle* the business, whilst Junot and his Aid-de-Camp quietly pocketed all the cash they could find, and returned to their usual *seat of justice*!!!

* General Loison, who on his arrival from Spain became second in command,

The expedition arrived in Mondego Bay on the 29th of July.* On the 30th, Sir Arthur Wellesley re-joined

command, was some time ago third in command of the army of England, and no doubt felt himself peculiarly happy in meeting the *shopkeepers* on Portuguese ground. Like his commanding officer, he rose from the ranks, having been in the life guards, where he was one of the first that was warped from loyalty and allegiance to his sovereign by the Jacobin Emissaries. Vain and presumptuous, he aspired to command, and obtruded himself frequently on La Fayette as deserving of Promotion in the National Guards; but not having received any education (indeed he was totally unable to read or write) this request was not complied with, which inspired him with such a spirit of revenge that this enlightened citizen became one of his first accusers in the Jacobin Club, denouncing Fayette's neglect of patriotic merit, of which he modestly adduced himself as a proof, as indicative of concealed aristocracy, and of treason against the rights of man. When the atrocious attack was made on the Thuilleries on the memorable 10th of August, he was conspicuous as a leader of the active citizens, and joined loudly in the yells of "no quarter—kill the Aristocrats," &c. and having, at the head of a strong party of the rabble, made a cowardly attack on four of the Swiss, he was so warmly received that many of his party were killed and wounded. Among the latter he was numbered himself; for a dangerous bayonet-wound sent him to an hospital for some months, where it is said he obtained some little instruction to fit him for the part he had since to perform in the Revolution. His conduct on the 10th recommended him to Murat, Robespierre, and the other blood thirsty demagogues; and on his recovery he was appointed commanding officer of a national battalion, destined for service with the army of Ardennes; here he had indeed no opportunity of distinguishing himself as a warrior; but his civic virtue in the Military Jacobin Clubs soon raised him to the station of *Chef de Brigade*. When Barras, at the head of his party in the Convention, brought forward the motion for the re-election of the *two thirds*, it was at first difficult to find any military characters to command the troops attached to their cause. At last Buonaparte and Loison were selected, and proved themselves *worthy* of the trust reposed in them, by the indiscriminate massacre of 8,000 *souls*—we beg their pardon—8,000 *bodies*, for at that time there were no *souls* at Paris. Loison was now appointed President of the Military Tribunal of St. Roch, where he gave full swing to his tyrannical disposition; but as he seemed inclined to push for the fair hand of the *immaculate* Josephine, then under the protection of Barras, his friend Buonaparte, by his interest with Carnot, procured him a command in Holland, where he consoled himself like a true *sans culottes* for the loss of the future Empress, by pulling off the Dutchmen's breeches. He is supposed by his infamous extortions

joined it, and the signal was immediately made to prepare to land. On the 31st, however, this was found impracticable from the surf on the beach, which even in the calmest weather runs very high. The *Alfred* lost nearly twenty of her people in sending boats on shore, and some men belonging to the transports were drowned. On the morning of the first of August the first division of the troops was landed, and marched towards Lavos, where they encamped until the whole were disembarked. General Crawford's division was the last to land: but a proportion of artillery were sent on shore every day.

The joy with which the troops were received by the Portuguese inhabitants was excessive. As the boats advanced to the shore, the air was rent by the acclamations of the people on the beach; and nothing was heard but blessings on the name of Great Britain, the deliverer of the oppressed. Notwithstanding the apparent difficulties attached to the landing of the Expedition at this place, it must be recollected that this was the only spot where he *could* land so as to be within a few days' march of Lisbon, and at the same time to possess facilities for the necessary refreshment of so large a body of troops after their voyage, and for their requisite equipment for a march to the capital. Indeed we are assured, that during the stay

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of

to have realised 50,000*l.* in Holland; but on his return to Paris, by the assistance of a mistress and a gambling house, he contrived to bring himself to his original state of equality. He was an active assistant to Napoleon in his attack on the Directory previous to the formation of the Consulate, and was afterwards present at the battle of Marengo; but it is said that he declined a command in the St. Domingo army under Le Clerc, not being inclined to give up the pleasures of Paris for the West Indian luxury. He is represented as ignorantly talkative, and eager to push his opinions on every subject, and has been accused, even by his friends, of being prodigal of the lives of his troops; and his conduct in his route from Spain, until his junction with Junot, has sufficiently shewn that rapine, extortion, and murder, are still considered by him as true Imperial Republican virtues.

* Sir Arthur Wellesley during this month attained the rank of Lieutenant General.

of the army at this place, the whole of the troops were put in such a state of comfort, from their supplies of every kind, that they were in condition to undergo any fatigue or privation without a murmur, or any real detriment to the service. Besides, he was also enabled to receive assistance from Oporto, where all the mules and carriages of the country had been provided by the Bishop of that place for his assistance.

The events connected with the choice of Mondego bay, as a landing place, are too important to be slightly passed over. It is, therefore, proper to observe that by this choice he had the fairest prospect of concentrating all his force with that under Generals Spencer and Anstruther, both of which detachments were important to him, before he could well venture to approach the French force which would otherwise have been too numerous for him to venture to attack. It was also a matter of serious consideration, that Marshal Bessieres had been successful against the patriotic army in Leon, and might, therefore, have easily advanced towards Portugal to relieve Junot; whilst, by choosing this position, Sir Arthur Wellesley would have had it in his power to intercept him, and to have given him battle before he could possibly form a junction with that General.* It happened fortunately, however,

* The difficulties Sir Arthur had to struggle with were very great, particularly from want of co-operation on the part of the Portuguese. Unfortunately a coolness arose from a demand made by the latter for a supply of provisions from the English stores, which it was impossible to comply with, without exposing our own troops to insufficient or precarious sustenance. In consequence of this refusal, the Portuguese corps separated from the British force; and though Sir Arthur used all his endeavours, and made every reasonable proposition to re-unite the two armies, he could not accomplish his purpose. He was even refused the re-inforcement of 1000 infantry, 400 light troops, and 200 cavalry, whom he promised to support from the British stores. In consequence of this want of co-operation, he was forced to abandon his first intention of attacking the posts of the enemy which were established along the coast, and to advance upon Roleia.

however, for the general cause, that in consequence of the successes of the Spanish army in the south of Spain, Marshal Bessieres found himself checked from any advance of that kind; and, from some circumstances of disaster, was soon after compelled to retrograde from Benavente to Burgos.

The certainty of Bessieres having retreated upon the latter place, and the junction of Spencer's division, now enabled Sir Arthur Wellesley to undertake, consistently with the utmost prudence, active operations against Junot, and that with every appearance of success. He therefore, having completed all his arrangements, with respect to the future comfort of the troops, and to their complete equipment for their march, moved early in the morning of the 9th of August to the southward, carrying with him seventeen days' provision for the whole army, in case that, should the fleet be blown off the coast, he might yet act independently of it. Each soldier carried three days' food in his knapsack; there were five days' laden on mules; and nine in the commissariat. Each soldier was also furnished with 120 rounds of ball cartridge.

The British army reached the city of Leyria* on the

* At Leyria information was received that Junot had taken possession of the strong passes in the mountains on the high road to Lisbon, with the advance of his army, under Generals Laborde and Breniere: and that he proposed moving the division of his troops under Loison to the assistance of the former, and would most probably bring up, himself, the main strength of the French army on the same position. It was also now ascertained, that the enemy's advanced posts were at Ahobaca, about a day's march in front of the British army. Under these circumstances it became essential to their future success, that the British should possess themselves of these passes, before Laborde should be reinforced by Loison, and perhaps by Junot himself with the whole of the French army, in a position which, thus strengthened, might oppose the most serious obstacles to the future success of the campaign.

It has been said that Sir Arthur Wellesley was so *anxious for glory*, that he advanced with unnecessary rapidity, for the purpose of gathering laurels, before others should come to supersede him in the command.

the 12th, which had lately been occupied by the French, but who had retreated to Ahobaca on their approach, having first plundered the town, and committed the greatest atrocities.*

Sir Arthur Wellesley marched with the British force from Leyria,† on the 13th of August, and arrived at Ahobaca the next day, which place the enemy had abandoned on the preceding night. On the 15th he

mand. It is evident, however, that if Sir Arthur had not acted as he did at Roleia, and then pushed on for Vimiera, *even the Convention itself* could not have taken place, as the French would have been so strongly posted, as to bid defiance to the whole concentrated force of the three expeditions from Cork, Portsmouth, and Harwich. To accomplish the object in view, every species of baggage or camp equipage, which could at all impede the rapid movements of the army, even to the soldier's tents, were left at Leyria; and for the remainder of their march the British troops slept in the open air; which, indeed, as the weather was very fine, was not attended with any inconvenience.

* One infamous story of them is recorded, that but a few days before they had used the bishop of the diocese with the greatest indignity; they stripped him naked, and tied him down in his chair, while they brought his niece into the room, and treated her with such complicated violence and barbarity, that she died upon the spot, before the eyes of her venerable relation.

This cruelty was committed in order to extort the church plate and other property which they supposed the bishop to be the depository of.

† Until their arrival at Leyria, the army regularly encamped every night, principally in the woods and vineyards. Sir Arthur purposely avoided the towns and villages which lay in his route, in order to escape, as much as possible, putting the inhabitants to inconvenience. It may also here be remarked, that the troops, on taking up the ground for the night, were always encamped in columns, in their order of march, instead of the usual mode of encampment in line—by which much delay was avoided, both in encamping, and in breaking up for their march, and was on the whole much more adapted to the comfort and convenience of the soldiery than the usual method. From the commencement of the march from Mondego bay, up to the gallant business of Vimiera, there was not a single punishment inflicted for straggling or plunder, even of the minutest article.

Every day during the march each soldier had a pound of flesh meat, and a sufficiency of bread and wine, for his comfortable subsistence; and on coming into action, there was scarcely a sick man in the hospitals of the camp, the whole army being in such a state of vigour and health that they were capable of any enterprize they might be put upon.

he arrived at Caldas,* when he found that the enemy, about 4000 in number, were posted about ten miles distant at Borica, occupying Brilos, about three miles from Caldas, with their advanced posts. As the possession of this latter village was important to his further operations, he immediately determined to occupy it; and, as soon as the British infantry arrived upon the ground, directed that the place should be occupied by a detachment consisting of four companies of riflemen, of the 60th and 95th regiments. The enemy, consisting of a small picquet of infantry and a few cavalry, made a trifling resistance and retired;

* The pre-eminent happiness of England, in being remote from the scene of war, can never be too much appreciated. Here we enjoy all our comforts, unmolested by the din of arms; our firesides, our amusements, and our watering places, are all in tranquillity. Not so with unhappy Portugal; for even on this very spot was one of her most agreeable resorts, the watering-place of Caldas, only three miles from Obidos.

A slight notice of its *agremens* will serve more fully to illustrate this observation. The town is but of small size, built in an irregular form, but had been improving before this unprincipled invasion. The houses are small, and upon an humble scale, consisting merely of a ground floor, and with very few windows, with bad flooring and no other furniture than common tables and chairs, so that the company who came to drink the waters, or to amuse themselves, were obliged to bring their own furniture. The inn itself was intolerable, so that the company always resided in private houses; and such was the place frequented by the nobility and principal merchants of Lisbon. Public amusements were unknown, and the time was rationally spent in domestic parties or in little excursions.

The fashionable system of the Portuguese was to pass the hot season at Cintra, and then retire to Caldas; on which account the company was generally more brilliant in the autumn than during the spring.

In the middle of the village there was a spacious and handsome bathing house erected over the warm spring, founded by the late Monarch; and close to it was a most benevolent establishment, an hospital for poor patients. The general customs were not very pleasant; for the company could only undress behind a curtain, put on their bathing clothes, and sit upon the ground in the baths, so that the water reached up to their necks. The sexes indeed were separated; but then there were frequently a dozen persons in the bath at a time.

Upon the whole, the situation and climate is delightful; but happiness has met too severe a shock in Portugal!

tired; but they were followed by a detachment of the English riflemen to the distance of three miles from Brilos. The riflemen were then attacked by a superior body of the enemy, who attempted to cut them off from the main body of the detachment, but which had now advanced to their support; larger bodies of the enemy then appeared on both the flanks of the detachment; and it was with some difficulty, that Major-General Spencer, (who had gone out, when he heard of the advance of the riflemen,) was enabled to effect their retreat to the village of Obidos, of which, however, they were left in quiet possession, the enemy removing from that vicinity.

This was the first operation of our troops; and, though they were overpowered by numbers, it shewed that general spirit which has since so much distinguished them throughout the Portuguese campaigns.

Whilst Sir Arthur was at Caldas, the French General Laborde remained in his position at Roleia; he, therefore, determined to attack him on the morning of the 17th.*

From the information which Sir Arthur received, he had reason to believe that the enemy's force consisted of at least six thousand men, of which about five hundred were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon; and he also understood that General Loison, who was at Rio Major, would join General Laborde by his right in the night of the 16th. Sir Arthur accordingly

* It may be necessary to premise, that Roleia is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the southward by mountains, which join the hills, forming the valley on the left, looking from Caldas. In the centre of the valley, and about 8 miles from Roleia is the town and ancient Moorish fort of Obidos, from whence the enemy's picquet had been driven on the 15th, from which time they had posts in the hills on both sides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of their army which was posted on the heights in front of Roleia, its right resting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence on which was a windmill, and the whole covering four or five passes into the mountains in their rear.

Battle of Roleia.

cordingly formed his plan, on this information, and the army, breaking up from Caldas in the morning of the 17th, was formed into three columns; the right consisting of twelve hundred Portuguese infantry, and fifty Portuguese cavalry, being destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear; the left consisting of Major-General Ferguson's and Brigadier-General Bowes's brigades of infantry, three companies of riflemen, a brigade of light artillery, and twenty British and twenty Portuguese cavalry, was destined, under the command of Major-General Ferguson, to ascend the hills at Obidos, to turn all the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of his post at Roleia; this corps was also ordered to watch the motions of General Loison on the enemy's right; the centre column consisting of four brigades under Generals Hill, Nightingale, Crawford, and Fane, with four hundred Portuguese light infantry, the British and Portuguese cavalry, a brigade of nine pounders, and another of six, were destined to attack Laborde's position in front.*

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* From the old Moorish fort of Obidos, the road runs to the southward over an inclined sandy plain, towards Roleia, a large comfortable village of about 180 houses, every one of which possesses either an inclosed garden or an orchard. This assemblage of dwellings and inclosures occupies a small level plain, bounded on every side by heights, except to the west, where a few gentle swells only appear.

The country bordering the road, though commanded by the rising ground, is open, and favourable for an advancing army, until it reaches the skirts of the gardens about Roleia. The face of it then changes to the left, entering from Obidos; built on an elevation is a small church, offering a good post for temporary defence, and to reduce which, if defended with spirit, artillery would be requisite. Orchards succeed, with olive plantations, vineyards, and gardens; the whole encompassed by hedges and ditches, overlooked by the woody heights, and which must be scoured by light troops before an army can safely pass. The French of course failed not to make the most of these advantages; and their riflemen, placed in every convenient spot, greatly annoyed our troops in their approach; and many a sharp contest took place on the face of these wooded heights.

Just

Such was the force of our little army.

The columns being formed, the troops moved from Obidos about seven in the morning, the riflemen being detached into the hills on the left of the valley to keep up the communication between the centre and left columns, and to protect the march of the former along the valley. The enemy's posts were successively driven in, whilst the artillery moved along the high road, until the whole army formed in front of the French position, who, finding the British advancing rapidly, immediately retired by the passes into the mountains with the utmost regularity, and with such celerity of movements, that, notwithstanding the rapid advance of the British infantry, they escaped with but little loss, owing, indeed, to our want of cavalry to join in the pursuit.*

The

Just without the village of Misericordia, and to the right of the high road, is a rising ground, on which stand four windmills of strong masonry; here, hidden by the buildings, the British artillery was placed; an olive and cork grove skirts the base of this mount, and is extended parallel to the front of Monte Santa Anna, a distance of 1000 paces to the left, shading the road, and occupying nearly the whole breadth of the plain.

Though not altogether close, it gave good cover, and was not easily seen into by the enemy. The principal column of the British was, therefore, enabled to approach the French position so closely, that it deployed for the different attacks, without experiencing any great loss notwithstanding the constant fire from the enemy's artillery planted on the summit of the hill.

The situation in which the British artillery was placed was so well chosen, that much praise is due to the officer commanding that part of the force. The French artillery on the contrary was placed so high that it could not be brought to bear upon either our line or our cannon, after our troops had left the grove; yet it is but justice to say, it was advantageously seated to protect the retreat of their advanced parties, as well as to gall our columns on their march towards the position which the enemy had occupied.

* A letter from an Officer informs us that in the action of the 17th of August, the 29th regiment commenced the attack, and was bravely led on by Colonel Lake. The enemy occupied the village of Columbeira, situated on the principal road to Lisbon, and of course necessary for our further operations: After some skirmishing, and under a heavy

fire

Anecdotes of the action.

The position which the enemy now took up was a formidable one ; but Sir Arthur immediately made dispositions for attacking it ; and the riflemen being
 2 c 2 already

fire from the surrounding heights, we drove the French from this point ; but their principal position was on the heights of Rolcia, which overlook and overtop the village. These were our next object ; and, on comparison, Salisbury Craigs, (near Edinburgh,) will give you the nearest idea of them, with the exception of a few passages leading from the top. Our enterprising antagonists, you may be sure, had not neglected these ; and while climbing up through briars and brush-wood, plied us successively with grape and musquetry. I commanded the right centre company, the fifth from the right ; each scrambled up the best way he could ; and, on gaining the summit, I found several officers, and about 60 privates of the 29th, who were in front of me : only one of my own company reached the top with me, the rest following fast. Here we lost that distinguished ornament of his profession, my good friend Colonel Lake, and many other gallant officers, long my companions in the regiment. My poor private, the moment he stepped up, was also knocked down by my side : in the agonies of death, he asked leave to shake hands with me ; he was a good soldier, and few knew their duty better. Upon advancing, we were immediately attacked by a French platoon of ninety men, whom we repeatedly repulsed ; these were, however, joined by another of the same number, who charged us with the bayonet, with whom we sustained the unequal conflict ; but our little band being now considerably advanced in front, and reduced to 25, Major Wray, Captain Ford, and myself, and our brave companions, were under the painful necessity of surrendering. Even this, however, did not satisfy the sanguinary enemy, who seemed bent on bayonetting us all. After many narrow escapes, General Bernier at last came up, and with difficulty put an end to the carnage, and to the distressing scene around of the dead and the dying. I have been oftener than once engaged with French troops, and my former opinion still remains unchanged ; upon any thing like equal terms, they have no chance with the British bayonet ; so it would have been the case now. General Bernier, I understand, (he was taken afterward at Vimiera,) is now a prisoner in England, where our countrymen ought to treat him with every possible attention ; he not only saved us, but the lives of many other parties. We were hurried away towards Lisbon, and put on board the Vasco de Gama in the Tagus, from which, by General Kellerman's Convention, we were soon exchanged. Soldiers may mention their hardships, but never complain. I am now quite recovered, thank God. In place of wounded, they were very nearly returning us all killed, considering it inevitable. During the time we were prisoners, and before the Convention was concluded, we dined with the Commander in Chief of the French army, General Junot. The dinner service was all

already in the mountains on his right, no time was lost in assailing the different passes, not only for the support of the rifle corps, but with the hopes of a complete defeat of the French division. The British army resolutely advanced to the different passes, which were all difficult of access, and some of them most obstinately defended by the enemy; but nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the British, particularly of the 9th and 29th regiments in the centre, who reached the point of attack sometime before those on the flanks could arrive up.* The enemy were
now

silver plate, &c. and the dessert was served completely in *gold*. In short, it was the most splendid thing of the kind I ever sat down to. There were about twenty French officers, high in rank, of the party, who were all very attentive; General Junot himself was equally so. I never did enjoy more pleasure than when General Beresford ordered me to march back at the head of 90 British prisoners to the camp, where we were joyfully received. Indeed, my own brave company drew up, and gave us three times three cheers. The army is still encamped, and has suffered considerably from sickness, &c.

* It was at this crisis that the gallant Colonel Lake, who had distinguished himself so much with his father in India, fell in the very moment of victory. We have had occasion to notice this youthful hero, in the section respecting India; but here we must further mention that George Augustus Frederic Lake was second son of that gallant, able, and distinguished veteran, the late Lord Viscount Lake, whose name must always be remembered with reverence and gratitude for his signal services to British India. This gallant youth was born in 1780, and entered the army at sixteen, at which early age he served as Aid du Camp to his father when Commander in Chief in Ireland, and was present at the various actions of Castlebar, Vinegar Hill, and Ballynamuck, at all of which he displayed that resolute fortitude which was one of the marked features of his father's character on every occasion of difficulty or danger. At the age of nineteen he obtained the command of a company, and proceeded to Holland; and in 1801 accompanied his father to India, where he filled the arduous situations of acting Adjutant-General of the King's Forces, and Military Secretary to the Commander in Chief, discharging their duties with the utmost assiduity and ability, and at the same time with great advantage to the public service. During this period, also, he held the office of Deputy Quarter-Master-General, in which he gave universal satisfaction to both officers and men.

Colonel Lake returned from India with his father in 1807, and was
soon

Defeat of the enemy.

now driven from all the passes which led up the mountains, and the British troops were advanced in the plains on their summits, the 9th and 29th * being most in front, which two regiments sustained three most daring and gallant attacks made by the French troops in order to cover the retreat of their main body; but though the assailants were, in return, as gallantly repulsed, yet they succeeded in effecting their retreat, principally from the want of cavalry on the part of the British, and from the difficulty of bringing up through the passes a sufficient number of troops and artillery to support those who had first ascended.

In this affair Sir Arthur Wellesley gave every credit

soon afterward appointed to command the 29th regiment of foot. He embarked with General Spencer's expedition, and proceeded for Gibraltar and Cadiz, and afterwards to Portugal, where he thus lost his life, at the head of the grenadiers of his regiment, gallantly repelling the formidable charge which had been made on it by the French troops under General Bernier. He was shot through the breast, and never spoke afterwards. Major Campbell, aid-du-camp to Sir Arthur Wellesley, was near him when he fell, and immediately went to him, expressing his hope that he was not seriously wounded. Colonel Lake lifted up his eyes, and took Major Campbell's hand, which he pressed with all his remaining strength, and soon after expired. His body was then covered with a cloak, and after the action was removed for interment. When Major Campbell was passing, many of the wounded men of the 29th regiment called out to him, "Never mind us, Sir! for God's sake take care of the poor Colonel!" In the whole course of this action, he displayed that ardent valour which so eminently distinguished his father, and manifested a degree of professional activity which has ensured for him the lasting admiration of the army, and will transmit his name to posterity, as one who, on *every* service of emergency, had uniformly served his "King and Country," with HEREDITARY HONOUR.

* The gallant 29th regiment, on whom the brunt of this day's business fell, has often distinguished itself in America, and in other quarters of the globe. This band of heroes lost nearly 500 men on this day; and they were part of the force of 4000 who were to attack the narrow pass, which from its situation, if well defended, must have been impassable. Nothing, however, could withstand British valour, which after a long and most bloody contest prevailed, but not until the French had a whole corps of grenadiers actually cut in pieces.

dit to his enemy for the ability and celerity with which he defended his formidable positions; but it must be remembered, that although the British army was superior in numbers, yet it was only a very small part of it that came into action. * Immediately after the battle of Roleia, Brigadier-General Anstruther arrived from England with reinforcements, and the French began a general movement, as General Loison joined Laborde at 'Torres Vedras, when they both began their march towards Lisbon, after which General Junot arrived at 'Torres Vedras with a small corps, and there was every appearance of a general junction of the whole French army between that place and the capital.

On

* The whole British returns were one Lieutenant-Colonel, two Captains—in all 70 killed; one Lieutenant-Colonel, three Majors, six Captains—in all 335 wounded. In order to appreciate the vast consequence of this victory, we must recollect, that had not Laborde's strong position been forced critically on this very day, he would, according to the best accounts, have been strengthened that evening by Loison's division, which was within a day's march of him; and it was known that Junot had left Lisbon with the same intention, with the whole of his remaining force. As it was, it required all the ability displayed by the general himself, and all the prowess of the British troops, to drive him thence. How it might have turned out, had the whole French army occupied such a position, it is not easy to determine. Indeed, it must be confessed, that both English and French fought on this occasion as if every individual engaged was fully sensible of the absolute necessity, the one of retaining, the other of forcing, this important pass.

The 9th and 29th foot were, on this day, for some time exposed to the shock of the whole French force, they having been the first regiments who reached the heights. Three times were these gallant corps attacked in the most furious manner by an immensely superior force of the enemy, and as often did they repulse them; till at length other corps having surmounted the heights, came to their relief, which enabled them to compel their adversaries to retreat.

The positions taken up by the Commander in Chief, his mode of attacking the enemy, and the whole of his subsequent manœuvres, were the admiration of the whole army; whilst his personal exertions and activity appeared almost incredible. Wherever was the hardest fighting, there was the general to be seen; and to his personal gallantry no small proportion of the glorious victory may fairly be ascribed.

On the 18th Sir Arthur Wellesley heard the favourable intelligence of the division of the British force (dispatched from Harwich) under Brigadier-General Anstruther, being off the coast of Peniche. He accordingly marched to Lourinho, about eight miles distant from Villa Verde, inclining towards the sea, in order to cover the landing of the newly arrived force, and to effect a junction; both which measures being completely effected in the evening of the 19th, on the 20th Sir Arthur advanced with a strength of nearly 18,000 effective men, in pursuit of the enemy, and took up his ground that evening at the village of Vimiera, * which he occupied.

In the evening of that very day, Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard † arrived from England to take the command of the troops in Portugal, until Sir Hew Dalrymple should join from Gibraltar. General Burrard had left that part of the expedition which he commanded

* The village of Vimiera is situated on a valley with the river Ma-ceira running through it: at the back, and to the westward and northward of this village, there is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, whilst the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road leading from Lourinho and the northward, to Vimiera. On this mountain, the greater part of the British army was posted; and on the southern and eastern sides of the town, the riflemen were posted, near a hill which was entirely commanded from the main position of the army, and which at the same time commanded all the vicinity to the south east. The road to Lourinho passed on its left; but it had not been occupied, as the camp was only taken up for one night, and there was no water in its vicinity. The cavalry and the reserve of artillery were in the valley between the hills on which the British infantry were posted, so as both to flank and support the advanced guard.

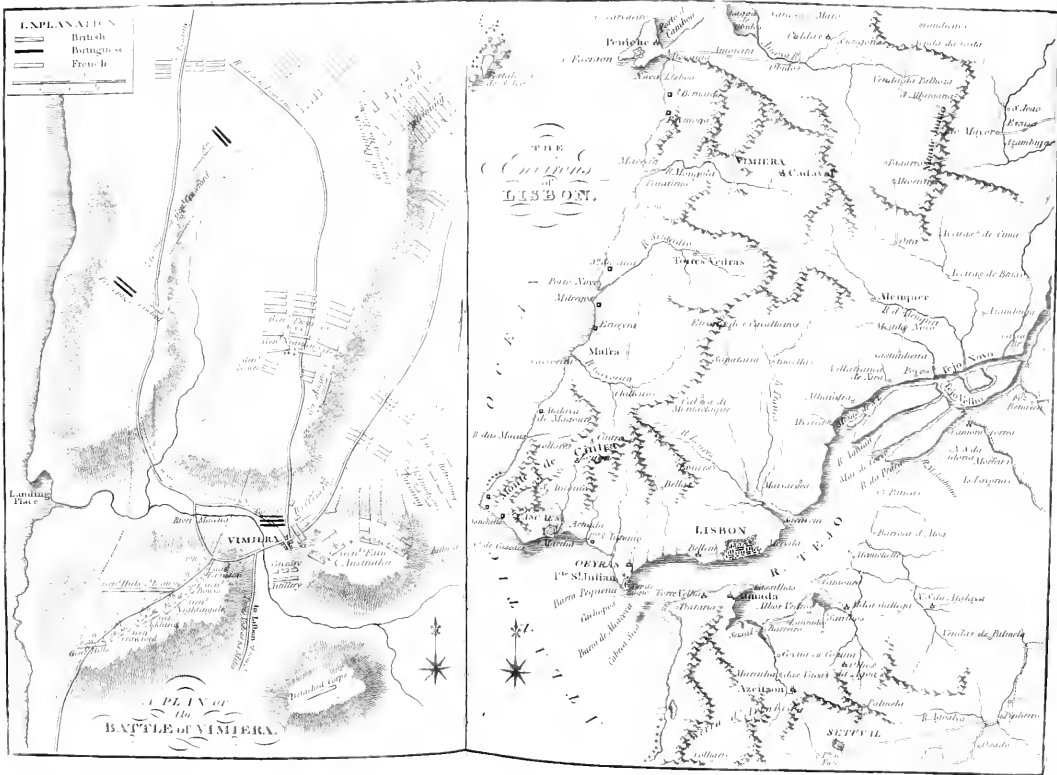
† Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard, at his first entering the army in 1776, held a commission in the 60th Royal Americans, in which regiment he served seven years; he was thence promoted to the majority of the 14th foot. In these regiments he saw much active service, both in America and the West Indies. In 1789, he exchanged into the first regiment of foot guards, of which he soon after became Lieutenant-Colonel. Since that period, he served under the Duke of York in Flanders; and at Ostend, (where he was taken prisoner,) was second in command under Major-General Coote. He had a brigade in Holland, and also served in the expedition against Copenhagen,

commanded some days before, in the care of Sir John Moore, and came himself in a fast sailing vessel to the coast. Having had communication with Sir Harry on board, Sir Arthur, in the belief that he would be attacked the next day by the enemy, ordered the troops to be under arms at sunrise on the 21st.

After the affair of the 17th General Laborde had fallen back upon Torres Vedras, a tolerably large town, 21 miles north of Lisbon, on the day of his defeat, having retreated in the whole about 17 miles, and was joined in the evening by General Loison. General Junot arrived there on the following day; and thus the whole French force being concentrated, they determined, as Sir Arthur Wellesley had foreseen, on attacking the British at Vimiera.

The English troops were under arms, agreeably to their orders, by break of day of the 21st; but the French not appearing, they were allowed to take some refreshment. About seven o'clock, certain intelligence of the approach of the French having reached the Commander in Chief, the *generale* was beat, and the whole army assembled in a moment with a regularity and quickness most admirable, and with an ardour to be led against the enemy which no danger could damp, actuated as they were by truly British feelings, and the utmost confidence in the skill of their leader. There being still time, Sir Arthur altered his position, and took that in which he determined to await the attack of the enemy, about a mile in front of the village.

The French first appeared at eight o'clock in the morning, in large bodies of cavalry on the left, upon the heights, and on the Lourinho road; and the eye of the British general soon decided that their object was to make an attack on the advanced guard, and upon the left of the position; he, therefore, ordered General Ferguson's brigade to move across the ravine with three pieces of cannon to the heights on the Lourinho road, where he was followed by other brigades,



Repulse of the French.

gades, which all formed with their right upon the valley which leads into Vimiera, and their left upon the other ravine which separates those heights from the range towards the sea, and on which the Portuguese troops were posted, supported by Brigadier-General Craufurd's brigade. Sir Arthur considering that the advanced guard, on the heights to the South East, was sufficient for their defence, Major-General Hill was ordered with his brigade as a support to the main body of infantry in the centre, and to serve as a reserve for the whole line; and in aid of this the cavalry were drawn up in their rear. The enemy's attack now began in several columns upon the whole of the troops on the height in the centre; and on the left they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment, and were only checked and driven back by the bayonets of that corps. The second battalion of the 43d regiment was also closely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimiera; a part of that corps having been ordered into the church yard to prevent them from entering the town. On the right of the position they were repulsed also by the bayonets of the 57th regiment, which corps was successfully supported by the second battalion of the 52d regiment, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy in flank.

Hitherto the British operations were completely defensive; but now Brigadier-General Ackland's brigade, in its advance to its position on the heights on the left, attacked the enemy in flank, whilst a cannonade was kept up in the flank of their columns by the artillery on those heights. At length, after a most obstinate contest, the whole body of the French, in this quarter, was driven back in confusion from the attack, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. They were pursued by the small detachment of the 28th Light Dragoons; but the enemy's cavalry were so much superior in numbers

Total defeat of the enemy.

bers that this detachment suffered much, Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor being killed whilst leading it on.*

Nearly at the same period of time the enemy attacked the heights in the road to Lourinho, supported by a large body of cavalry, and conducting themselves with all the impetuosity so congenial to their mode of warfare. This attack, however, was received with great steadiness by Major General Ferguson's Brigade consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st, regiments; and without waiting for the enemy to close, the British charged them with such gallantry that they instantly gave way, whilst the whole line continued to advance, supported by Brigadier General Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, advanced and formed part of the first line. This support was further strengthened by the 29th regiment, and by Brigadier Generals Bower and Ackland with their brigades, whilst Brigadier General Crawford and his division, with the Portuguese troops in two lines, advanced upon the height on the left.†

The advance of General Ferguson's brigade was decisive; for he took six pieces of cannon, made many prisoners,

* Lieutenant Colonel Taylor, who lost his life in this glorious action, was son of Dr. Taylor in Berkshire. This gallant officer, at the head of a small body of cavalry, defeated and pursued a numerous force of the enemy, and drove them into a wood, where they were reinforced, and rallied for a short time, when he was shot through the heart. As a man his breast was full of the milk of human kindness; as a gentleman, his manners were elegant; as a Christian, he was steadfast in faith, and joyful through hope; whilst charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtues, was his eminent qualifications. He left an amiable widow, and three children, to lament their irreparable loss, and dwell with fond and lasting remembrance on his virtues.

† During this action, our men who belonged to the picquets, and who had fallen down wounded, were passed over by the French, in their advance; but were inhumanly stabbed by them in the limbs or the body afterwards. How did the British behave themselves towards them under the same circumstances? Their first act on coming up with a wounded Frenchman was to unsling the canteen from their shoulders, and pour a portion of its contents into his quivering lips. This happened in innumerable instances.

Major

prisoners, and killed and wounded a great number.*

A slight attempt was afterwards made by the French to recover part of their artillery, by an attack upon the 71st and 82d regiments, which were halted in a valley in which it had been taken : but these regiments immediately retired from the low grounds in the valley, a little distance up the heights, where they halted, faced about, fired, and again advanced upon the enemy, who by this time had advanced to their former position in the low ground, and from whence they were driven soon with a very great loss.

The field of battle was now completely in possession of the British army, although the French had concentrated the whole of their force in Portugal in one spot, with a great superiority both of cavalry and artillery. It is also worthy of notice that not more than one half of the British troops were actually engaged in this signal defeat, in which the boasting enemy, instead of driving them into the sea, lost thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition waggons, with powder, shells, stores of all descriptions,

2 D 2

tions,

* Major General Ferguson is the same officer, of whom Sir David Baird spoke in such high terms of praise for his conduct and bravery at the Cape of Good Hope. He at that time had the rank of Brigadier General, and had the command of the Brigade which was first landed. He represented at this period the Fifeshire district of boroughs, and is the second son of William Ferguson, Esq. of Raith. Though his services may entitle him to the name of *veteran*, yet at this period he was only 35 years of age. In the action of the 21st, he put himself at the head of the 38th and the Grenadiers of the 71st, ordered the bagpipes to play, waved his hat, and huzzaed the troops up to the very mouth of the enemy's guns, and there poured in a most destructive fire, which he had reserved until their near approach. The enemy were then driven back, and left five guns in the possession of these gallant fellows. The 36th, which contributed so gloriously to their success, upon General Ferguson's returning to them after their charge received him with three cheers. The French 70th regiment, consisting of 2,000 men, fought with the most desperate courage, but were almost entirely destroyed by this brigade.

Sir

tions, and twenty thousand rounds of musquet ammunition, with one general officer (Bernier) wounded and taken prisoner, and a great many officers and soldiers killed, wounded, and taken.*

Never were the valour and discipline of his majesty's troops more conspicuous than upon this occasion, and the Commander in Chief gave them all due praise for their gallant conduct; but though all the merit of the conduct of this action is certainly due to Major General Wellesley, it is necessary to mention that he was superseded in the command in the very middle of it by Lieutenant General Sir Harry Burrard, who landed soon after the enemy's attack had commenced. He did not claim any of the well earned praise, however, due to the Major General; but very candidly stated in his dispatches that he was fortunate enough to reach the field of action in time to witness and approve of every disposition that had been, and was afterwards, made by Sir Arthur Wellesley, his comprehensive mind furnishing a ready resource in every emergency, and rendering it quite unnecessary to direct any alteration.†

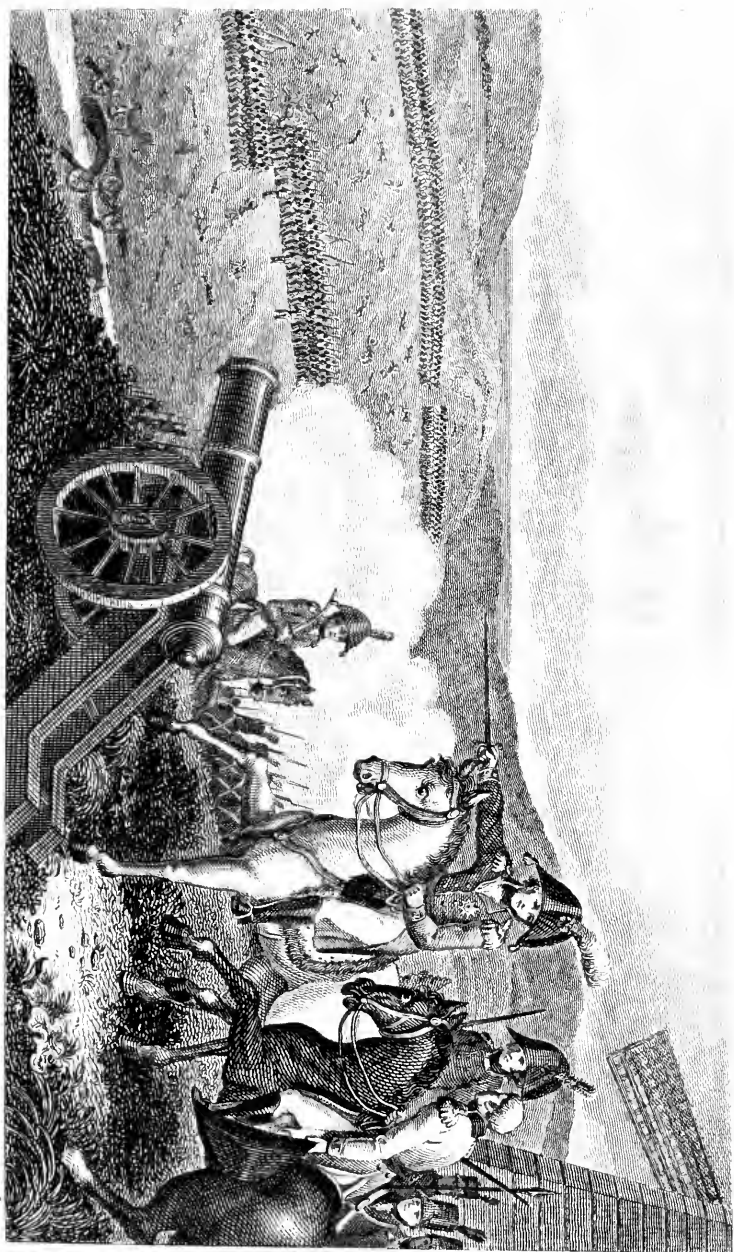
The loss of the British army, in such an extended line,

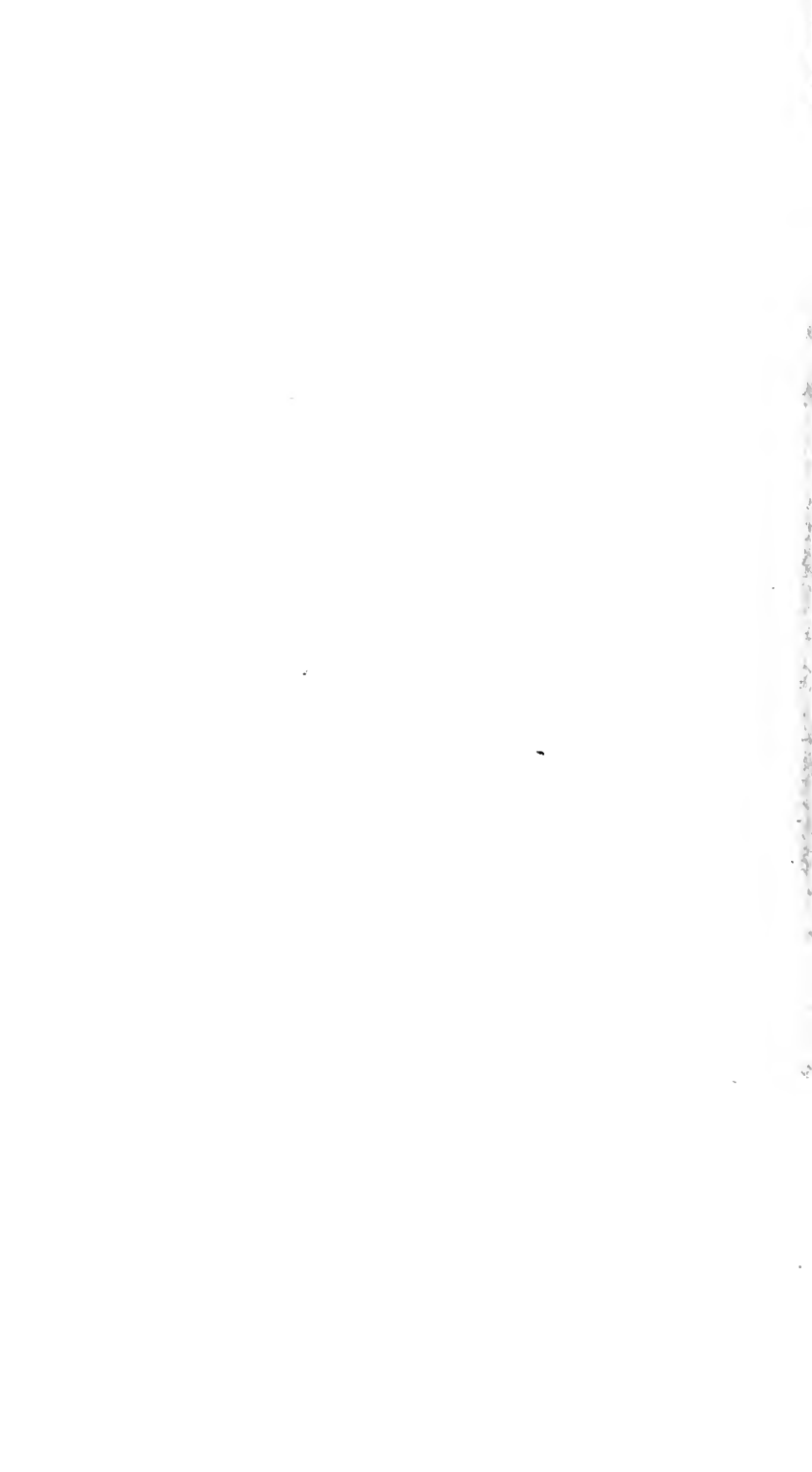
Sir Arthur Wellesley himself declared that the advance of this brigade was the finest thing he had ever seen in his life.

* Among many other gallant circumstances recorded of this battle, one is particularly mentioned as the theme of admiration of the whole British army.

Major General Ferguson, whilst in advance with the Highland and another brigade, received orders to retreat slowly from the position which he occupied—this he did *slowly, and not very readily*; the French army, however, pursued; General Ferguson retreated down a steep hill, and over an extensive plain, his force preserving admirable order. At length the French force approached his rear very closely, and pursued him: the general could no longer repress his own, and the inclination of the gallant little force which he commanded—he faced them about, advanced, and charged the enemy with the bayonet, which the Frenchmen not being able to withstand, they retreated in every direction, and the slaughter was prodigious.

† The great superiority of the British in that most essential quality of a soldier,





line, was certainly very great, but not so heavy as might have been expected, amounting to 135 killed, of whom four were officers, 534 wounded, including 37 officers, and the total of killed, wounded, and missing, amounting to 740. This glorious battle was fought on Sunday the 21st of August, and we have seen that Sir Harry Barrard arrived even during its progress; but it is a curious fact, that a *superior* officer, in the person of Lieutenant General Sir Hew Dalrymple, arrived the very next day and took command of the British army. *

A few

a soldier, cool, steady, and persevering courage, was decisively and gloriously displayed throughout the whole of this celebrated battle. The enemy were certainly much better provided with cavalry than the British; their artillery, though not served with such skill and effect, was yet more numerous; and the force actually engaged was also greater, as from the nature of the ground occupied by our troops, and of the attack made by the French, not more than one half of them were opposed to the whole army of the enemy. Yet their victory was decisive and splendid: the celebrated manœuvre, to which Buonaparte is indebted for almost all his victories,—that of attacking by column, and endeavouring to break the line of his opponents, was attempted to be put in practice; but the attempt, though made with all the characteristic impetuosity of the French, completely failed. The British line remained firm and unbroken; and when they in their turn charged with the bayonet, they proved themselves as much superior to the French, in attack, as they were in defence. The enemy fled from the charge; and this, as well as every battle in which the British have had recourse to the bayonet, proves that with it they are irresistible.

* Of the many anecdotes relative to this battle, that prove and illustrate the honourable disposition, as well as the personal courage, of the British soldiery, two are especially worthy of being recorded.

When the French General Bernier was wounded, he was in danger of having been put to death by those into whose hands he fell. A corporal of the 71st regiment, of the name of Mackay, fortunately came up and rescued him. The general wishing to shew his gratitude to his deliverer, and to reward him, made an offer of his watch and purse. These Mackay refused positively to accept, to the surprise and astonishment of Bernier; who probably thought that the corporal, in rescuing him from death, had a view solely or principally to his own interest, and who, from what he knew of his countrymen, the French, would certainly not be led to anticipate the refusal of what, according

A few hours after his arrival, General Kellerman* came in from the French lines with a flag of truce from Junot (the soi disant Duc d'Abrantes) in order to propose an agreement for a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops.

On this occasion, Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed by the Commander in Chief to communicate with General Kellerman, and some articles were proposed and partly acceded to; but, as it was necessary to have the concurrence of the British naval Commander in Chief then laying in the Tagus, he very properly objected to the 7th article, which stipulated for the neutrality of the port of Lisbon as far as regarded a Russian squadron, then lying there, and for its being permitted to sail without interruption.

On

according to his ideas of the rules of war, might be regarded as lawful booty.

The other hero was a Highlander, of the name of Steward, the piper of the grenadier company of the same regiment in which Mackay was a corporal. Early in the battle Steward was dangerously wounded in the thigh, and of course rendered unable to accompany his regiment. He refused, however, to be carried off the field of battle; but having been placed, according to his desire, in a situation where he might be secure and uninterrupted, and at the same time be near his regiment, he continued, during the remainder of the engagement, to animate the men by his martial music.

Mackay was very deservedly rewarded with a commission; and the Highland society voted a gold medal with a suitable device and inscription to Mr. Mackay as a mark of their approbation, whilst to Steward they gave a handsome stand of Highland pipes for his highly spirited and very laudable conduct during the battle.

* General Kellerman.—The French were always remarkable for a species of *brusquerie*, but more particularly so, since the Revolution; the impertinent ease with which Kellerman made his observation on the *hard biscuit* at General Wellesley's table has a parallel in his conduct at Paris, during the stay of the Pope at that capital. At one of the *holy* drawing-rooms, where the pious Buonaparte had placed himself between the two Cardinals, Bellois and Bernier (perhaps in imitation of our Richard the Third, as Shakspeare so inimitably describes him appearing to the good Citizens of London between two holy men) as if to seclude himself from the conversation of the profane sinners

On this occurrence it was regulated that Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, Quarter-Master-General to the army, should proceed, along with General Kellerman, to the discussion of the other articles, and to conclude a definitive arrangement founded on them. Much discussion now took place, and the Commander-in-chief found it necessary to avail himself of the limited period prescribed for the suspension of hostilities, to move the army forwards, and to place the several columns upon the routes by which they were to advance; and at length the ratifications of the definitive convention were exchanged on the 30th of August 1808.*

After

around him; the whole tribe of grand vicars, grand bishops, and courtly grand almoners, charmed with the devotional *debut* of the Emperor, surrounded him like rays of celestial glory, when the *etourdi* General observed *rather* loudly, "Had Buonaparte always been encom-
"passed by troops of this class, he might indeed have sung psalms
"with the Saints above, but he would never have reigned as an Empe-
"ror below." This unlucky sally was overheard by Louis Buonaparte; and Monsieur Kellerman received orders to proceed next morning for Hanover, and place himself on the staff of a general younger than himself? nor would he even have escaped so well, had it not been for the interest of the elder Kellerman, whose influence with Duroc saved him from any other punishment.

* The purport of this Convention was, that Portugal should be delivered up to the British troops, and that the French army should evacuate with arms and baggage, but not as prisoners of war. That the latter should be transported to France in British vessels, in which the French army should also carry all its artillery, tumbrils, horses, and sixty rounds of ammunition for each gun, together with all the *property of the army*, private property, military chest, cavalry horses, &c. &c.

The reasons given for this extraordinary capitulation, so favourable to a beaten enemy, were stated by the British general in his public dispatches. He said, that having landed in Portugal entirely unacquainted with the actual state of the French army; and many circumstances of a local and incidental nature, which doubtless had great weight in deciding the question; his own opinion in favour of the expediency of expelling the French army from Portugal by means of the Convention (which the late defeat had induced the French commander to solicit,) instead of doing so by a continuation of hostilities, was principally founded on the great importance of time, which the

season

After the Convention, Sir Arthur Wellesley, Lord Paget, General Ferguson, and a number of officers of inferior rank, came home on leave of absence.*

It

season of the year rendered peculiarly valuable, and which the enemy could easily have consumed in the protracted defence of the strong places they occupied, had terms of Convention been refused them. Besides this, he considered it of importance that at the time when the suspension of arms was agreed upon, the army under the command of Sir John Moore had not arrived, and doubts were even entertained whether so large a body of men could be landed on an open and dangerous beach; and even that being effected, whether the supply of so large an army with provisions from the ships could be provided for, under all the disadvantages to which the shipping were exposed. He acknowledged, however, that during the negotiation the former difficulty was overcome by the activity, zeal, and intelligence of Captain Malcolm of the Donegal, and the officers and men under his orders; but the possibility of the latter seemed to have been at an end, nearly at the moment when it was no longer necessary. That there were some difficulties with respect to the coast is no doubt correct; accordingly, that no time might be lost in obtaining anchorage for the transports and other shipping, which had for some days been exposed to great danger on this iron bound and difficult coast, and also to ensure the communication between the army and the victuallers, which had been for some days cut off by the badness of the weather and the heavy surf on the beach, directions were given to the Buffs and 42d regiments (which were on board of transports with Sir Charles Cotton's fleet,) to land and take possession of the forts on the Tagus whenever the Admiral thought proper to do so. This part of the service was therefore carried into execution on the morning of the 2d of September, when the forts of Cascais, St. Julian's, and the Bugio, were evacuated by the French, and taken possession of by the British troops.

The British admiral, Sir Charles Cotton, under those circumstances felt himself justified in entering into a convention with the Russian admiral Seniavin, by which the fleet of that nation, consisting of nine line of battle ships and one frigate, were surrendered, to be held by England as a deposit until six months after the conclusion of peace between Russia and England; and measures were immediately taken for their being sent to Spithead.

Most certainly the Portuguese, who had been pillaged in a most shameful and outrageous manner by the French, did not feel pleased with this convention: for as it expressly declared that all the property belonging to the individuals of the French army was to be considered as sacred; and that they might either dispose of it in Portugal, or carry it away under the name of baggage, the most shameful and rapacious pillage of the Portuguese took place very soon after its ratification

It must be confessed that the general regret and indignation of the whole nation was raised by this
 10. 2 E Convention

fication. It was also discovered that the French officers, so far from discountenancing and repressing those shameful proceedings of their men, rather encouraged them in it. In order, therefore, at once to protect the Portuguese, and to keep the execution of the articles of the Convention to their proper and just meaning, it was absolutely necessary to appoint commissioners, who might determine what was, and what was not, *private property*.

One of the most pleasing circumstances which resulted from the victory of Vimiera, and the consequent liberation of Lisbon from the yoke of the French, was the freeing from bondage, and restoring to their country, the Spanish troops which Junot had ordered to be disarmed, and to be confined in the vessels in the Tagus. The day on which their arms were delivered to them presented an interesting and grand sight. In order that this act might be performed with the magnificence which was justly due to it, all the British and Portuguese troops were assembled on the occasion. The sword of the Spanish general was delivered to him by General Beresford, with an appropriate address, in which he congratulated himself on the honour which had been allotted him of delivering to a Spaniard, and therefore a man of honour, that sword of which he had been deprived by the artifice and violence of the foes of his country; and which, now that he had regained it, would undoubtedly be employed in its defence. As soon as the officers and soldiers were put in possession of their arms, they pronounced a solemn and unanimous oath never to repose till they had seen their beloved Ferdinand re-established on the throne; and for him, their religion, and their country, to conquer or die.

It may truly be said, that a battle more important in its consequences was never gained by England:—whether we consider the beneficial effects which must result from it, being not less than the recovery of an entire kingdom from the grasp of the common enemy;—its raising the national character to the height it must do in the eyes of all Europe, a circumstance of the utmost value in the then, as well as in the present, state of the world, and more to be appreciated than conquest itself;—and the consequent debasement of the military character of the enemy. Again, if this battle were solely to be estimated by the military talents of the commander, the zeal and good conduct of the officers serving under him, and the individual bravery of every soldier who fought, it will stand second to none which the annals of England commemorate.

In the determined fierceness of attack, impetuosity, and obstinate resistance of the enemy, British troops have rarely been so opposed. “On the whole it was a great and glorious day for Old England, and binds upon the brow of the general, who led her heroes to the field, a wreath of laurel as fresh as it is unfading.”

Convention to a great height. In fact the throne was besieged as it were with petitions from all parts of the

In this action, indeed, as in that of Roleia, the want of cavalry was much to be deplored; as this deficiency alone prevented the victory from being as decisive as it was brilliant. In spite, however, of this deficiency, the loss of the enemy cannot be computed at less than 4,000 men, and nearly all his artillery. The French had in the field about 15,200 men, of whom 1200 were cavalry; but this latter force by no means distinguished itself, not having once come to a charge in the course of the day; but its position and numbers were formidable, and it contributed to keep in check a considerable body of the British troops, occupied in watching its movements.

The boasted French artillery on this day was served in every respect far inferior to that of the British. Indeed, it is impossible to convey an idea of the precision with which the latter was directed, and the execution that it made in the ranks of the enemy. The Shrapnel shells (whose name is adopted from their being the invention of Colonel Shrapnell, of the artillery) in particular made dreadful havoc among the ranks of the French.*

The honour of the French military character was, however, for some time nobly supported by its infantry. Their mode of attack was in column; a mode of warfare which they have hitherto successfully practised against the Austrian and other troops of the continent. On this occasion, however, it entirely failed. So far from obtaining the object of this manœuvre, that of penetrating the English line, and taking it then in flank to the right and left, they never approached near enough for the British bayonet to act, without having their heads of columns invariably broken, and the whole thrown into confusion.

What also contributed materially to their defeat was the scientific manner in which the English General met this species of attack. The French army advanced in three large columns, in such a manner, as to bring them all to bear upon the British left and centre. Invariably as each advanced, and independently of the resistance it met in the front, it was taken on the flanks by the fire of corps advanced for that purpose, by a small change in their position; by which means they lost a surprising number of men before they could put it to the bayonet. In fact,

* These shells are made so as to contain about 100 musquet balls; and are calculated to explode at given distances, on which they instantly spread death and devastation around. Indeed so much were the French dismayed at the effects of this novel instrument of war, that many of the grenadiers who were made prisoners declared that they could not stand it, and were literally taken lying on the ground, or under cover of bushes and the high banks of some ditches in the field of battle.

the kingdom, calling strenuously for an enquiry into the motives, which could have led to the transaction.

2 E 2

Much

fact, in no case did the French come to the resort of this latter weapon, that they were not instantly broken, not standing its push an instant.

The advance of the enemy to the attack was impetuous, and even furious. As they approached, they saluted the English with every opprobrious epithet which their language is so eminently fertile in. While on the contrary the latter, in derision, cheered them as they approached.*

Before the action, General Junot harangued his army in the following laconic terms—"Frenchmen! there is the sea. You must drive those English into it!" In fact they did their utmost for three hours and a half to obey his orders, but never during that time made the smallest impression on the English line, although they repeatedly rallied, and tried every thing which could be effected by rapidity of movement, and particularly of attack. At length wearied out and beaten, they were forced to give way in every direction, and were pursued off the field of battle by the British infantry for a distance of three miles.

Numerically speaking, it must be confessed that the superiority of troops was on the British side; but then, as otherwise observed, not more than 9000 of these were ever brought into action, whilst every Frenchman was engaged: for when the French retreated General Hill's brigade which formed the second line of the British, and were destined to receive the enemy in case they had penetrated the first, had not fired a single musquet, were quite fresh, and might have been led in pursuit of the enemy immediately, if such a manœuvre had been judged proper, according to Sir Arthur Wellesley's suggestion.

In short we may now say, agreeably to the very interesting strictures which appeared on the occasion, in more than one periodical publication, and to which we are indebted for much of this animadversion, that the battle of Vimiera was decided by superior generalship in the leader, and superior bravery in the soldiers—every manœuvre was practised in it which could arise out of the combined and various movements of attack and defence; repeated change of position occurred on both sides, and the palm of victory was at length the prize of

* Their dress was singular. It was blue, with white facings; over the whole of which was worn a white woollen surtout somewhat like a waggoner's smock frock: their caps were square like those of the Huns, and they had goat skin knapsacks. Their musquetry was throughout formidable, particularly that of two Swiss regiments in their service, who behaved most gallantly. The voltigeurs were upon the whole good, but far inferior in activity and real service to the English riflemen.

Much clamour was also attempted to be excited against Sir Arthur Wellesley, although he was no longer

of him who best deserved to wear it, after a long and arduous conflict of nearly four hours.

On this glorious and ever memorable day, the most conspicuous circumstance connected with it is, doubtless, the conduct of the British Commander-in-Chief, as well from his rank as his responsibility—on him every thing turned—to his conduct every one looked—the good or the evil which might result from the expedition was referred to him alone.

It is proper further to remark, that, during the whole of this period, Sir Arthur never went under cover at night, but always slept on the ground in the open air; he was the first up, and the last down, of the whole camp; sleeping constantly in his clothes, and his horse picketted near him, ready saddled, to be mounted at a moment's warning.

During the whole of this anxious period, he was cheerful, affable, and easy of access—enduring every privation himself, he was attentive to the wants of all, and ever active to obviate them.

Of his dispositions in the field notice has already been taken. In personal bravery he has been rarely equalled, never excelled. Conspicuous by the star of the order he adorns, he was constantly in the hottest part of the action; whenever a corps was to be led on, from the death of its officer, or any other unexpected cause, Sir Arthur was on the spot at the head of it.

“Is it wonderful then,” is asked in the very perspicuous eulogium from which we have selected so much—“Is it wonderful that such a man should be the idol of his soldiers, and the admiration of his brother officers?” These sentiments were universally shewn, when he was cheered by the whole line after the action of the 21st, exclaiming “This glorious day is our *old General's*”—and when congratulated by the general officers on the victory, they all eagerly ascribed it to him, as “Exclusively his own!”

* Previous to the departure of Sir Arthur Wellesley, he received from the General officers a present of a piece of plate, of the value of one thousand guineas, and a similar one from the field officers serving

* It is worthy of remark, that from the day on which he took the command of the army, until the day on which he resigned it, but three desertions took place;—those were all from the 5th battalion of the 60th, a rifle corps; and the parties were foreigners. Those men were caught and delivered up by the Portuguese to the English Provost Marshal; but were released without punishment, in consequence of the desertion of the corps to which they belonged. In presence of the whole army, Sir Arthur thanked them for their uniform gallant conduct, and restored them these men, without punishment, as the best reward he could bestow on them.

longer Commander-in-Chief when it took place; but, said those who thought proper to lay the blame on him, "he was the officer who signed the preliminary articles." To this his advocates answered, 'That he had merely signed those articles by order of his superior officers; "but then," replied his calumniators, "why did not he object to the business entirely?"'

Before we enter more into the historical detail of the consequences of the Convention,* we shall, however, make one or two observations, which will perhaps set this part of the question at rest. In the first place it is well known, that Sir Arthur Wellesley, on many occasions, expressed to his friends in private his disapprobation of the Convention; we cannot, therefore, suppose that he was active in its formation; and to the charge, that he did not hint any disapprobation when in consultation with the other Generals, that is certainly nothing more than a bare surmise, and must fall to the ground when the facts of the case are considered.

When the proposals were first made by Junot, through the medium of General Kellerman, it is evident that the preliminary articles were sent ready *written in French*, and that they were not drawn up conjointly

ing under him, "as testimonies of the high esteem in which they held him as a man, and of the unbounded confidence they placed in him as an officer."

* It is also a curious fact that the opinion of the people of England, previous to the commencement of the operations in Portugal, did not extend further than to a capitulation on the part of Junot: nay there was even a government bulletin posted at Lloyd's, on the 16th of August, stating that "Generals Wellesley and Spencer had formed a junction, and landed all their troops. A summons had been sent to Junot, who proposed to capitulate on certain conditions: to which however, his brother officer, General Laborde, would not consent"—and in a popular military publication of that day, it was added (*The Star*) "It would appear to be his most judicious proceeding to capitulate, as it would be Sir Arthur Wellesley's policy to accept it, and to grant him easy terms. His position is so strong that he might hold out a long time, and it is for the interest of our allies, that our army should be speedily released from this service that it may proceed on another."

conjointly by the two negociators, Generals Wellesley and Kellerman. All, therefore, that Sir Arthur Wellesley had to do, was to receive the French proposals, to lay them before the British Commander-in-Chief, and to obey his orders to sign them as a *basis for further discussion*, for the formation of a definitive convention.* This was an order which he could not disobey; an order which involved him in no responsibility. But when these preliminary articles were to be acted upon, what was the case?—why, that Sir Arthur no longer continued as the negociator, but was superseded by Colonel Murray, when the final articles were drawn up in English, still evidently upon the skeleton of a French *projet*, as appears from the attached observations of the English Commander-in-Chief.

Now, nobody ever thought of charging Colonel Murray with having done wrong in signing and arranging the final articles, a business too which Sir Arthur Wellesley had declined; if so, still less can any

* Though we have hazarded the speculation, and certainly not an improper one, that Sir Arthur Wellesley in signing the preliminaries acted *only as an agent*, we feel it but justice to all parties, to state more fully, that when Sir Hew Dalrymple stated to the court that he had been grossly aspersed in the public prints, to serve, as it would seem, the cause of a more favoured officer, &c. and that he now pledged himself that Sir Harry Burrard, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and himself, were present with General Kellerman when the preliminaries were discussed and settled, and that Sir Arthur Wellesley bore that prominent part in the discussion to which the important situation he held in the country, the glorious victory he had lately obtained, and the information, more particularly of a local nature, which he possessed, so well entitled him to assume—Sir Arthur with great candour replied, that he regretted exceedingly that any thing should have appeared in the public prints which could be supposed to have the effect of serving him at the expense of the conduct or character of Sir Hew Dalrymple; and he disclaimed, in his own name and that of his relatives and friends, any approbation or knowledge of such sentiments. He then added, “that he had agreed with the Commander-in-Chief on the *principle* of those articles, though he had differed from him in some of the details; *he had signed the preliminaries at the desire of Sir Hew Dalrymple*, but not in consequence of any command or compulsion.”

in the Convention.

blame possibly attach to the latter for merely going through the official forms of the acceptance of a *projet* in order that it might be discussed. In fact, he had no right to refuse its acceptance in the first place, and when desired to sign it according to official form, he must have been guilty of disobedience of orders had he refused, having already voluntarily accepted the office of negociator.

It is evident that no blame, therefore, could attach to him individually in this business as an active agent; but had he even approved of its principle, even then, it is a question of opinion whether the transaction was blameable or not. Indeed, the members of the board of enquiry soon after instituted, who were certainly the best qualified to judge of the business from having the whole evidence before them, and from their military habits of life, even they were divided in opinion, with regard to its expediency.*

* During the progress of the inquiry, on the 22d of November, Sir Arthur Wellesley found it necessary to enter more fully into his own vindication, particularly after the delivery of a written paper by Sir Hew Dalrymple; and he then stated that the force he commanded consisted of 13,000 men, and he was taught to expect the aid of 6000 Portuguese - the French army comprised 20,500 men, and was in possession of the fortress of Elvas, which in strength was inferior to none of the second class in Europe; yet he felt confident that the British force was competent to advance against the enemy, and bring the contest to a successful issue—that the line of march he had proposed to pursue was in his opinion every way preferable to that chosen by Sir Hew Dalrymple, as it enabled him to keep his force concentrated, and to draw supplies from the fleet—that with respect to the armistice concluded with General Kellerman, he positively denied that he was the negociator; and although he certainly had signed it, yet he disclaimed all responsibility for its honour; that though he thought it expedient that the French should be allowed to evacuate Portugal, with all their baggage and arms, yet to some of the minor terms he could not agree, but most of the objections he made were over-ruled by General Sir Hew Dalrymple;—that he was of opinion that the Russian fleet should not be included in a treaty with the French; but that anything done with respect to them should be the subject of a distinct treaty, and with themselves, as they had acted a neutral part whilst in the Tagus, &c. He also further expressly stated that he was called by Sir Hew, out of another room, to sign the treaty which he read throughout.

Their statement, however, seems evidently to clear up any doubts which may still remain respecting Sir Arthur Wellesley's conduct and opinions during the whole transaction; for they stated, that soon after noon on the day of the battle of Vimiera the firing had ceased, and the enemy's cavalry were seen from the left of the British army, in bodies of about 200, by General Ferguson; and about the same time General Spencer saw a line formed, about three miles in front of the British centre. About half past twelve Sir Arthur Wellesley proposed to Sir Harry Burrard, to advance from his right with three brigades upon Torres Vedras, and with the other five brigades to follow the enemy, who had been defeated on our left.* But it further appears that the situation of the army at this moment was—on the right, Major-General Hill's brigade, which had not been engaged, was on the height behind Vimiera, and at a distance of about three miles from those of Generals Ferguson and Anstruther on the left. In front of Vimiera, and in the centre, were the brigades of Anstruther and Fane, which had been warmly engaged. Brigadier-General Bowes' and Ackland's brigades were advanced on the heights towards the left, in support of Generals Ferguson and

throughout, and after making the observation, that it was a most extraordinary one, he signed it, but without at all feeling himself responsible for its contents, and particularly condemning the want of stipulations for the 5000 Spaniards confined in the hulks on the Tagus.

* It is here worthy of remark, that Colonel Torrens declared on his examination, that immediately after the defeat of the French right column, and during its precipitate retreat, Sir Arthur Wellesley rode up to Sir Harry Burrard, and said "Sir Harry, now is your time to advance upon the enemy; they are completely broken, and we may be in Lisbon in three days; a large body of our troops have not been in the action; let us move them from the right on the road to Torres Vedras, and I will follow the enemy with the left." To this Sir Harry replied, that he thought a great deal had been done, very much to the credit of the troops, and that he did not think it advisable to do more, or to quit the ground in pursuit.

and Nightingale. Brigadier-General Crawford's brigade was detached rather to the rear of the left, about half a mile from Major-General Ferguson, to support the Portuguese troops making front in that direction.

Whilst our army, from the nature of the ground and of the service, was in this scattered direction, it appears further, according to report, that although the enemy was completely repulsed, still the degree of expedition with which a pursuit could have been commenced, considering the extended position of the British army at that time, and the precaution to be taken against the superior cavalry of the enemy, must have depended on various local circumstances only to be calculated by those on the spot.

This very circumstance of a superior cavalry retarding our advance, it was observed, would have allowed the enemy's infantry, without any degree of risk, to continue their retreat in the most rapid manner till they should arrive at any given and advantageous point of rallying and formation; and it was added that Sir Arthur Wellesley in the affair of Roleia, when the enemy had not half the cavalry as on the day of Vimiera, did not pursue a more inconsiderable and beaten army with any marked advantage. It was also considered that, as the attack on the British centre had been repulsed long before that on the left had, the attacking corps which was not pursued except by about 150 of the 20th dragoons, had time, above an hour, to reassemble, and to occupy such ground as might afterwards facilitate the retreat of their right, and also that the enemy were actually and visibly formed in one or more lines, at about three miles in front of our centre.

“ From these and other fair military grounds, as allowed by Sir Arthur Wellesley; from those that occurred in Sir Harry Burrard's first interview with Sir Arthur Wellesley; from the utmost certainty of the immediate arrival of Sir John Moore's corps, which,

which, if they had not stopped at Mondego Bay, would have been at Macera on the 21st, (the day of the battle,) Sir Harry Burrard declined making any further pursuit that day, or ordering the army to march next morning early."

It was further stated in the report, that Brigadier-General Clinton and Colonel Murray concurred in this opinion; but it is evident Sir Arthur Wellesley did not agree with it, otherwise such concurrence would have been recorded.

Thus far speaks the report with respect to the inactivity of the British army, for some time at least, after the victory of Vimiera; then, as to the more important point of the Convention, it goes on to state that when the proposed treaty, (ratified by General Junot,) of the 28th of August was brought by Captain Dalrymple on the 29th to head-quarters, at Ramalhal, all the Lieutenant-Generals, (Burrard, Moore, Hope, Frazer, Wellesley,) were present, Lord Paget excepted, because not long previously summoned. "The proposed treaty was, however, formally discussed. Minutes of proposed alterations were taken by Sir Arthur Wellesley, as laid before the board, and the Commander in Chief of the Forces has no reason to believe that Sir John Moore, or any of the Lieutenant-Generals that came with him, expressed any disapprobation of the state and terms of the negotiation."

This silence, however, of Sir Arthur Wellesley on that day, or his even taking minutes of proposed alterations, in order to *mend* the measure, certainly ought not to be brought forward as proofs of his having approved of it. That he might have considered it useless *then* to oppose it is not, indeed, unlikely; for, as matters *then* stood, it was no doubt the wisest measure to get rid of the French army as quick as possible, as long as that could be done without disgrace to the British arms; for the battle, the defeat, and the proposed pursuit on the part of Sir Arthur, had

on the Convention.

had all taken place on the 21st, whilst this negotiation was only in train on the 29th, thus having allowed the French a whole week to strengthen themselves in their positions, and perhaps to have put it totally out of the power of the British army to dislodge them, except by a Convention, in a space of time short of three months, and that perhaps accompanied with the total destruction of the city of Lisbon.

That Sir Arthur Wellesley did *then* make no objections is not at all extraordinary; and we have, therefore, only to add that "The treaty with the alterations proposed were transmitted to Lieutenant-Colonel Murray. It appears when the treaty concluded by Lieutenant-Colonel Murray on the 30th was brought by him to Torres Vedras on the 31st for ratification, the Lieutenant-Generals present were convened, and *Sir Arthur Wellesley was sent for*. Lord Paget, who was at a distance, did not come, *nor did Sir Arthur Wellesley*, his corps having marched that morning."

The Board of Inquiry, after what may be called a very full statement of the business in question, closed with paying high compliments to the various officers for their zeal, firmness, ardour, gallantry, &c. but it is something remarkable that the most important purposes for which they were assembled were not fulfilled, at least in the opinion of the Commander in Chief; for his Royal Highness in a letter to the President, Sir David Dundas, observed that their *opinions* respecting the *conditions* of the armistice and convention had been altogether omitted; and that he therefore thought it his duty to call their attention to these two principal points in this important case, and to desire that they would take the same again into their most serious consideration, and subjoin it to the opinion they had already given on the other points, whether, under all the circumstances that appeared in evidence before them, respecting the rela-

Disapprobation of his Majesty.

tive situation of the two armies, on the 23d of August, it was their opinion, that an armistice was advisable; and, if so, whether the terms were such as ought to have been agreed upon. The Commander in Chief also required them to consider whether it was proper to enter upon a Convention, subsequent to the armistice, and after all the British forces were landed.

In consequence of this the Board met again. The questions were put to each of the members; some of whom approved the measures, whilst others disapproved of them, each party giving their reasons for their opinions: and this difference was at length finally settled by a formal declaration of disapprobation on the part of the King, of both the Armistice and Convention, which, with reasons for it, was formally conveyed to Sir Hew Dalrymple.*

* During the public clamour on those events, the general indignation was much directed against the ministry, by the extraordinary circumstance of no less than three Commanders in Chief having been with the British army during the space of three days, a circumstance stated to have arisen from indecision on the part of government. But the state of the fact is extremely simple. Sir Hew Dalrymple, the Governor of Gibraltar, was, from the first, intended for the chief command; but as the troops could only be sent out from different ports, and at different times, each commanding officer of each detachment would naturally take the command according to his seniority. It was not, therefore, intended that any officer should finally command in chief, except Sir Hew; but it was both an unlucky, and a remarkable coincidence of circumstances that the arrival of those officers in a succession of seniority should have taken place at a moment so critical for British honour, and for Portuguese security.

SECTION VI.

State of Spain at the close of 1808, and commencement of 1809—Supreme Central Junta formed—Anecdotes of General Palafox—Duplicity of Buonaparte—Anecdotes of King Joseph—Also of the Buonaparte family—Anecdotes of Marshal Ney—Ditto of Don Julian—Military operations of the French army—Surrender of Madrid to the French—Sir John Moore takes the command of the British army—Biographical notices of the last officer—Commencement of the British operations—Anecdotes of Sir John Hope—Of Sir David Baird—March into Spain—Political and military operations—Various military anecdotes—Advance into Spain—Want of Spanish co-operation—Retreat determined on—Anecdotes of Lord Paget—Manœuvres of Buonaparte—Frustrated by Sir John Moore—Anecdotes of the retreat—Distresses of the army—Battle of Corunna—Fall, and anecdotes of Sir John Moore—Sir Arthur Wellesley—Conduct in Parliament—Treaty with Spain—Sir Arthur supersedes Sir John Craddock in the command in the Peninsula—March towards the Douro—Passage of the Douro, and recapture of Oporto—Pursuit of the French—Its consequences—Junction of the allied armies—Anecdotes of Soult—March towards Talavera—Anecdotes of Victor, Jourdan, and Sebastiani—Battle of Talavera—Its consequences—Military and Biographical Anecdotes—Subsequent retreat—Anecdotes of Sir Robert Wilson—General view of occurrences in Spain—Sir Arthur Wellesley elevated to the Peerage as **VISCOUNT WELLINGTON**—Anecdotes of the siege of Gerona—Close of the year 1809.

WHILE the army of France lay inactive on the Ebro and the passes into the mountainous province of Biscay, and whilst Napoleon was engaged in his Russian and German campaigns, the Provincial Juntas in Spain had leisure to resolve themselves during part of 1808 into one grand, supreme, central Junta.

To understand all the bearings of the Spanish cause as connected with the operations of the British army, it is necessary to take a slight review of the proceedings of this period, as it is by a consideration of this kind alone that we can fully appreciate the services of the noble subject of our biography.

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In fact, the situation of the Spaniards, when their country was assailed by the intrigues, the treachery, and the arms of France, was unexampled in their history, unprovided for by their laws, and even in direct opposition to their long habits of submission and indolence. In such circumstances something was necessary to give direction to the public force, for the wishes, and even the ability of the people, were insufficient; perhaps, therefore, the best plan which could have been adopted, was that of electing provincial Juntas, who, each in its own sphere, might give efficacy and order to the exertions of their respective districts. As soon, however, as the capital of the kingdom was freed from the invading force, and that some kind of communication could be safely established between the different provinces, it was doubtless the most rational policy to unite the powers of all under one executive head, thus giving unity and decision to the counsels and measures necessary for the general welfare.

In consequence, a Supreme and Central Junta was established at Aranjuez, on the 25th of September 1808, consisting of deputies from all the provincial authorities; and at the head of this was placed the venerable Count Florida Blanca.

To form a just estimate of their political creed, it is only necessary to recapitulate the oath of admission:—

“ You swear by God, and all the Holy Evangelists, and by Jesus Christ crucified, whose sacred image is before you, that in the exercise of the Supreme and Sovereign Central Junta, you will defend and promote the conservation and advancement of our Holy Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman Religion; that you will be faithful to our August Sovereign Ferdinand the Seventh, and that you will maintain his rights and his sovereignty. That you will concur in the support of our rights and privileges, our laws and customs, and above all those, concerning the succes-

sion of the reigning family, according to the order established by the laws aforesaid. In short, that you will give your vote for every measure calculated for the general good, the prosperity of the kingdom, and the melioration of its customs. That you will observe secrecy in all cases where secrecy is proper. That you will protect the laws against all malevolence, and prosecute their enemies, even at the expense of your life, your personal safety, and your fortune."

So great and so striking was the general scene, that an immense crowd of both sexes, and of all ages, gave way to the most ardent enthusiasm, and rent the air with shouts of "Long live Ferdinand the Seventh;" nay, it is said, that the very ceremony of opening the gates of the palace, which had been so long shut, joined to the sad solitude of this magnificent mansion of their kings, and the recollection of the epoch at which, and of the reasons for which, these gates had been shut, drew forth a burst of sorrow from every eye, and produced a cry of vengeance against the authors of such calamities and public sorrows.

The further intentions of this Central Junta seem to have been founded on rational and liberal principles, though circumstances certainly operated much against their completion. These, as expressed in a subsequent proclamation, were to ratify the laws of religion, to *restore* or to *avenge* the monarchy, to re-establish the fundamental laws of the kingdom upon a basis consonant with civil liberty, to draw more closely the ties connecting them with their colonies by a liberal policy; and, in short, to stimulate and reward activity, industry, talents, and virtue, in all ranks of life.

Being now acknowledged by all the regularly constituted authorities, they proceeded to form the various branches of administration, to establish a system of finance, to confiscate the estates of traitors, and to collect the old established taxes, but without laying
any

any additional burthens upon the people: and the army of Dupont having about this time surrendered, they arranged every thing respecting it, and endeavoured, as much as was in their power, to furnish means for the British army to proceed into Spain after the Convention of Cintra, and the freeing of Portugal from a foreign force.

At this period the whole Spanish force, including the liberated army of Romana, and those who had been set free in the Tagus, was divided into three separate commands, but about the latter end of October, disposed so as to form one grand army. The eastern wing, amounting to about 20,000, was under the command of General Joseph Palafox ;* the north western,

* Don Joseph Palafox, the youngest of the male descendants of one of the most illustrious families in Arragon, was born in 1775, and long held a commission in the Spanish guards. At the commencement of the *revolution*, (as it is called, though improperly, when applied to the exertions of the Spanish people,) he was selected from the officers of the household troops to be second in command to the Marquis de Castellar, to whose custody the Prince of Peace was confided after his arrest at Aranjuez; and he afterwards accompanied Ferdinand the Seventh to Bayonne, from whence he had the good fortune to escape in the disguise of a peasant, but subject to great difficulties. He arrived at his country seat near Saragossa, when the inhabitants of that city and the peasantry of the vicinity indignantly rose to oppose French cruelty and treachery; and Guillicmar, the Captain-General of Arragon, having shewn some intention of disarming the people, he was conveyed to prison, and the command of the forces given to *General* Palafox. At this critical moment, surrounded by the enemy, situated in the very centre of difficulty and danger, he did not hesitate to take the command; and yet his regular troops only amounted to 220 men, and the whole public treasure of the province amounted only to 2000 reals, or about twenty-one pounds English money! Placing, however, a just confidence in the people, he immediately declared war against the French by a spirited proclamation. A large force was soon after detached against him, and in two actions the unfortunate Arragonese were defeated; yet their spirit was not destroyed, and the detachment of French cavalry, which afterwards penetrated to Saragossa, paid dearly for their rashness through the vengeance of an enraged populace. But even here his people gained experience, and actually defeated their oppressors in a subsequent action, and obliged the French general to retreat. The particulars of his gallant defence of Saragossa

Siege of Saragossa.

western, under the command of General Blake, amounted to 55,000; and the centre under General Castanos, consisted of 65,000 men. Besides these, there was a small army in Catalonia, and another in Estremadura; and the whole was under the supreme command of Castanos; to which must be added the

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Saragossa would require a volume to detail them; but, alas! treachery was too much for patriotic valour. Saragossa was soon after sold—and Palafox, if alive, languishes in a dungeon!

During the most important part of the first siege the attacks of the enemy seemed to be directed principally against the gate called Portello, and the castle near it without the walls, and which is nothing more than a square building made use of as a prison, and surrounded by a deep ditch. The sand bag battery before the gate of Portello was gallantly defended by the Arragonese. It was several times destroyed, and as often reconstructed, under the fire of the enemy. The carnage in this battery, throughout the day, (30th of June,) was truly terrible. It was here that an act of heroism was performed by a female, to which history scarcely affords a parallel. Augustina Zaragosa, about 22 years of age, a handsome woman, of the lower class of people, whilst performing her duty of carrying refreshments to the gates, arrived at the battery of Portello, at the very moment when the French had absolutely destroyed every person in it. The citizens and soldiers, for the moment, hesitated to re-man the guns; Augustina rushed forward over the wounded and slain, snatched a match from the hand of a dead artilleryman, and fired off a 26-pounder; then jumping upon the gun, made a solemn vow never to quit it alive during the siege; and, having stimulated her fellow citizens by this daring intrepidity to fresh exertions, they instantly rushed to the battery, and again opened a tremendous fire upon the enemy.

For this she received a small shield of honour embroidered upon the sleeve of her gown with "Saragossa" inscribed upon it, and also had a pension from the government with the daily pay of an artilleryman.

When on the 4th of August the French had opened a tremendous fire upon another quarter of the city, and had almost in an instant levelled its mud walls to the ground they were enabled to make a lodgement almost in the very heart of the city, and the French general immediately demanded the surrender in the following note:

"Quarter-General—Santa Engracia."

"The Capitulation;"

to which Palafox returned—

"Quarter-General—Saragossa."

"War even to the knife!"

Yet, in a subsequent siege, unhappy Saragossa became the prey of those relentless villains, and suffered worse than death!

force under Sir John Moore, now ready to march from Lisbon, and the troops expected under Sir David Baird, &c.

With respect to the French army in Spain, their positions had been but little altered from those of the summer. Their right was to the ocean, the left on Arragon, and the front towards the Ebro, strengthened lately by reinforcements from France, and particularly by 160,000 conscripts, hastily collected by Buonaparte; who, having made his arrangements at home, quitted Paris for Spain, leaving the British ambassador to dispute about a basis for peace, whilst he himself was hotly pursuing his new war. He proceeded rapidly for Bayonne; and on the 3d of November, with a reinforcement of 12,000 men, joined his brother Joseph at Vittoria.*

The plan of the Spaniards at this precise moment was,

* This now flying usurper is the elder brother of the Corsican; and was, before the revolution, a clerk to a petty attorney, the same profession which his father followed after being promoted by Monsieur de Marbœuf to the rank of *avocat*, or king's attorney: though he had formerly been a private soldier.

That *she* apostle of liberty and equality, Miss Helen Williams, attempts to prove that Buonaparte, both by father and mother, is of noble origin; but the fact is, (as declared in a work published at Genoa, in 1744,) that when on the 3d of May 1736, Porto Vecchio, in Corsica, was attacked during the struggle for Corsican liberty, a butcher from Ajaccio, called Joseph Buona, brought a seasonable assistance with a band of vagabonds and robbers, who during the civil wars had chosen him for their leader; and for which he was raised by King Theodore to the rank of a nobleman: or, more properly speaking, a *gentleman*, being entitled to bear arms; for at that time, and indeed even now in many parts of Europe, mankind were classed solely as noble and ignoble, every man who had a right to a coat of arms being reckoned noble, and the intermediate English term of *gentleman* being unknown.

On this promotion, Buona added *parte* to his name, and his son Carlo was father of the present race of Buonapartes by Letitia Raniolini his wife, but the mistress of General Marbœuf.

The grandfather Carlo, from whom the young Carlo took his name, kept a winehouse; but, being accused and convicted of murder, died a gally slave at Genoa in 1724, and his lady died there six years afterwards in the house of correction!

was, with the right and left wings of their grand army to turn the flanks of the French force, whilst Castanos should make a vigorous attack upon, and break through, their centre. This seemingly judicious design was accordingly acted upon; and Castanos, with the central army, crossed the Ebro at three different points, the French only making a show of resistance; nor did they prevent him from pushing forward detachments, and taking possession of Lerin, Viana, Capporoso, and others of their own posts, on the left bank, or north side of the Ebro. He was even allowed to advance to Pampeluna, whilst the French only manœuvred so as to hide their own intentions. In fact, in pursuance of this deep laid design, Marshal Moncey had orders to advance with the left wing of the French army along the banks of that river, not to oppose the passage, but by presenting a weak front to decoy Castanos to cross it; nor did the stratagem fail of success, (though it is possible Castanos would have crossed without it,) for it threw Castanos off his guard, when Marshal Ney,* with

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* Marshal Ney is amongst the most respectable of the French marshals, having originally served in the 4th regiment of hussars, where he rose, through the different gradations, to the command of a company in 1794, at which time he attracted the notice of General Kleber so much, that he appointed him Adjutant-General to his army: yet, even then, he was conscious of his own military deficiencies, so that, when appointed to a command at Montreuil, he applied himself to remove his own deficiencies with so much ardour as to manœuvre his troops for whole days together, until his officers openly said in derision, "We are going to give the *Marshal* (this was in 1800) a rehearsal of the lesson he received in private with his *wooden* men. He doubtless takes us for men of iron."! and Buonaparte having also remarked that he had twice as many sick as any other corps, recommended him to complete himself night and day in the closet, and "reasonably well with his troops."

He seems, however, not to have taken so much pains with his own manners, but is still rude and unpolished; and of his private character it is enough to say, that when in 1800 he commanded the army of the Rhine he was accompanied by a young lady, who was considered as his wife. She enjoyed that title for three years; and, indeed,

his division passing the line of the Ebro, and dashing forward with great celerity, in separate columns, took the Spanish posts of Legrono and Calahorra, threw the whole country into alarm and confusion, and cut off the communication between the two armies of Blake and Castanos.*

The first operations of the French were now directed against Blake's army, which was successively driven from post to post during the latter end of October and the beginning of November as far as Espinosa, where, having taken up a strong position, this, the Gallician army, was forced to make a stand in order to save its magazines and artillery, but in vain; for, after a brave resistance of two days, they were obliged to retreat with precipitation.

During this conflict at Espinosa, a detachment was

deed, her birth, her fortune, and education, were far superior to that of her protector, who had the villany to turn her off, and accept of a helpmate from the seraglio of Buonaparte, as a step for his ladder of ambition. He is now Duke of Elchingen, and as well skilled in *plunder* as any of his associates.

* Nothing can be more illustrative of the general spirit of Spain than the following anecdote:

Julian, a native of San Felices dos Gallegos, was nothing but a simple herdsman; but under the direction of the general of the district, he with six other youths, on horseback, and with no other arms but pikes, formed a little party to molest the patrols of the enemy, which in different parts of Castile were plundering the inhabitants. He was so far successful, that, in a short time, he made 100 cavalry prisoners, which were conducted under escorts to Ciudad Rodrigo. Subsequent to this extraordinary success, Julian was made an ensign, and he received orders to augment his party to the number of fifty men. Their plan was to give quarter to none, except to such as gave information by which the enemy could be annoyed.

On one particular evening when he had joined the Spanish force in front of Marshal Ney, Julian proceeded to the vanguard with his fifty pikemen, and rushed upon 70 French dragoons, who had separated themselves from the main army, three leagues upon a foraging party. Of these he killed 60, took 4 prisoners, and only 6 escaped.

These and many other acts of personal valour he performed, until he attained the rank of captain, and that without the loss of a single member of his corps.

Spanish defeats.

was sent against the last retreat of the Gallician army, Reynosa, where a considerable force was established. At break of day on the 11th of November, they were suddenly attacked on both their right, left, and centre. They were forced to consult their safety by flight; throwing away their arms and colours, and abandoning their artillery. After this unfortunate business, General Blake, with the remains of his broken army, took refuge in Asturias, whilst what remained of the corps of Romana, which had formed a part of this Gallician army, fled into the northern parts of that province. The Spaniards, however, were so closely pursued by Marshal Soult, that the van of his army entered St. Andero on the 16th of November, forcing the bishop of that place to take refuge on board an English frigate. Before the 23d of November the French had routed and dispersed the armies of the north of Spain, and also that of Estremadura, under the command of the young Count of Belvidere, who having been insidiously permitted to proceed as far as Burgos, and to occupy it with his army, was then attacked by superior numbers, his army routed after a gallant resistance of twelve hours, and almost annihilated; he himself, with the small remains, flying to Lerma, and from thence to Aranda.

The invaders, thus at liberty, directed their whole force against Castanos; and, on the 23d of November, bringing him to action at Tudela, gave him a signal defeat, thereby opening the road to Madrid; on which route, on the 29th of November, a force under the command of General Victor took possession of a most difficult pass in the Sierra Morena, called the Puerto, though remarkably well fortified, and defended by 13,000 Spaniards.

On the 1st of December advanced parties of the French appeared before Madrid, at which period the inhabitants were busily employed in raising palisades, and constructing redoubts, expressing a determined

terminated spirit of resistance. The French were beaten back several times; but, on the third attempt, they succeeded in getting possession of the gate of Alcala, and also of the Retiro, the reduction of which place, however, cost them very dear, their loss amounting to upwards of 1000 killed and wounded. The supreme Junta then hoisted a white flag as a token of submission; but the people pulled it down, and persisted in their intention of defending the city: unfortunately however, for want of leaders, their spirit of enthusiasm began to evaporate; and when they found that the French were fortifying themselves in the Retiro, which completely commands Madrid, they began to retire to their respective houses.

To pursue the events which led to the complete subjugation of Madrid is unnecessary; but it has been asserted, and apparently upon sufficient evidence, that the superior authority, either bribed or awed by unworthy fear, had a correspondence with the enemy, and actually gave up Madrid through treachery. Don Thomas Morla has been generally suspected in this business: indeed, he certainly was the first to propose a capitulation; though two days after the discussion, having been entrusted with the defence of the capital by the supreme Junta, and thereby having acquired a kind of official authority, he actually sent a dispatch to Sir John Moore, describing the Spanish force at Madrid as very formidable, and pressing him to advance with all possible expedition to the capital. Our ambassador also at Madrid, too sanguine with respect to the means of the Spaniards, and deceived by the pretended patriotism of some among them, certainly aided these invitations by very pressing remonstrances. There is reason to fear, however, that if Sir John Moore had advanced, he must either have fallen into a deep laid snare, or have at least suffered extremely from the want of the necessary supplies: but this we shall notice more at large, presently.

On the 4th Morla and another went to the French army, were introduced to Buonaparte; and, after some threats of an assault, and other manœuvres to cloak the apostasy of these traitors and others of their friends in the Junta, the city was given up, the Junta placed in various situations, and Morla secured both in his fortune and military rank.

Such was the state of affairs in Spain, previous to the events connected with Sir John Moore's army, which we shall now briefly trace.*

To

* Sir John Moore was a native of Scotland, and was son of Dr. John Moore so well known in the republic of letters by his travels over great part of Europe whilst tutor to the Duke of Hamilton, and for several very interesting novels, *Zeluco*, *Mordaunt*, *Edward*, &c. but who was settled at Glasgow as M. D. when Sir John was born. From this amiable parent, he received the rudiments of an education that was matured and perfected by him also at a subsequent period, he having at an early age instilled into him those generous and heroic principles as well as that ardent love of freedom, which warmed his own bosom, and was never extinguished, or even debased, by his constant residence amongst, and habitual correspondence with, the great.

During the tour alluded to, young Moore was then companion of his father, and was also much respected by his father's pupil, with whom he lived for many years, amidst all those early and endearing scenes which knit the hearts of young men to each other.

On their return in 1778, young Moore commenced his military career, as Ensign in the 15th regiment of foot, in which he soon after acquired a Lieutenancy; and, after passing through all the gradations in due order, became Lieutenant Colonel of the 40th, after which he obtained the rank of Colonel in the army, and rose to that of Major General in 1798.

The first opportunity he had of distinguishing himself was at Toulon, being then Lieutenant Colonel, and being then selected by Lord Hood to accompany Major Koehler on a secret and confidential mission to Corsica, in order to form a union between that Island and Great Britain.

In the subsequent attack upon the French posts in Corsica, in 1795, Colonel Moore was detached to seize on Fornelli, which he accomplished, but with considerable difficulty; for notwithstanding that his attack was sudden, and that his troops had dragged a howitzer and a six-pounder over mountains extremely difficult of access, yet the tower itself was too strongly situated to be taken by a coup de main, being a lofty circular work, with the only entrance at least forty feet from the ground, and standing upon a detached eminence on the borders of

To illustrate the liberal and patriotic spirit of this gallant general it is sufficient to say that on his arrival in

San Fiorenzo bay, and not far from that city. Undaunted by difficulties he still persisted in his attack, and the seamen of the fleet soon got up four 18 pounders, a large howitzer, and a ten inch mortar, over precipices and ragged rocks to a height of 700 feet, when the place was certainly no longer tenable, yet the officer commanding chose to stand an assault which Colonel Moore made in the evening of the 17th of February, himself advancing at the head of his column, and cutting down a French grenadier with his own hand.

His subsequent conduct at Calvi was no less gallant; for then he marched to the attack of one of the strongest works with a body of troops with unloaded musquets, stormed and took possession of the ramparts, under a severe discharge of musquetry, and grape shot, equally regardless of the fire of small arms, the roaring of cannon, and the bursting of shells. Although severely wounded in the head, yet he entered the enemy's works, in company with the brave grenadiers, whom he led, and was embraced at the close of his victorious assault by General Stuart, the conqueror of Minorca, who was an adequate judge of that gallantry, for which he himself was so much distinguished.

After the surrender of Corsica, and the subsequent arrangements had taken place, he was appointed Adjutant General; but he seems to have been on rather indifferent terms with the Viceroy, and was soon after recalled for more honourable and active service, being promoted to the rank of Colonel in the army, and ordered for the West Indies under the gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie, where he served as Brigadier General during the long and arduous campaign of 1796. Here he distinguished himself much at the capture of the Dutch colonies in South America, and also at the reduction of Saint Lucia.

On his return to Europe he accompanied his old general to the Helder, and afterwards commanded the right wing of the British army whilst the enemy advanced against them in their cantonments; and there he was a second time wounded.

After this service, he went to Egypt with the same general, and commanded the reserve of the army on the memorable landing in Aboukir bay on the 7th of March 1801. The position of the French, who were posted on a commanding eminence, was admirable; but no sooner had his boat approached the land, than the Major General leaped on shore; and, placing himself at the head of his brigade, climbed the fortified eminence, and charged in his usual manner with the bayonet. Such intrepidity proved irresistible; for the French retired towards Alexandria, and General Moore next day received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief for his gallantry.

In the subsequent action of the 21st of March, when Abercrombie fell, he distinguished himself once more whilst leading on the reserve, against

Character of Sir John Moore.

in Portugal which took place after the battle of Vimi-
 11. 2 H Wellesley,

against which the principal attack of the enemy was directed; and the gallant Hutchinson in his official letter observed, that the troops conducted by him behaved with unexampled spirit, and resisted the impetuosity of the French cavalry, and then added that "Major General Moore was wounded at their head, though not dangerously. I regret, however, the temporary absence from the army of this highly valuable and meritorious officer, whose counsel and co-operation would be so highly necessary to me at this moment."

He recovered in time, however, to assist at the siege of Cairo, as well as of the castle of Marabout, and after Alexandria had been reduced, and all the French in Egypt had submitted, was appointed to escort the capitulating army to the place of embarkation. On his return to England, he had a command on the staff in the Kentish district, and in 1805 was sent to the command in Sicily, from whence being recalled he went to Sweden, where his services are well known, and from thence was ordered for Portugal and Spain, where he fell!!

His character cannot be better drawn than in the general orders of the Commander-in-Chief at home, on the 1st of February 1809.

"Sir John Moore from his youth embraced the profession with the feelings and sentiments of a soldier; he felt that a perfect knowledge, and an exact performance of the humble, but important duties of a subaltern officer, are the best foundations for subsequent military fame; and his ardent mind, while it looked forward to those brilliant achievements, for which it was formed, applied itself with energy and exemplary assiduity to the duties of that station.

"In the school of regimental duty, he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and he was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of that discipline which he enforced in others.

"In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any one point as a preferable subject for praise; it exhibits, however, one feature so particularly characteristic of the man, and so important to the best interests of the service, that the Commander-in-Chief is pleased to mark it with his peculiar approbation.

"The life of Sir John Moore was spent among the troops—

"During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post of honour, and
 by

Wellesley, and absolutely declared to Sir Hew Dalrymple, that he wished to wave all pretensions derived from his seniority; and that as Sir Arthur had done so much, it was fair he should take the lead in the operations against Lisbon, and if the good of the service required it, he would execute any part that was allotted to him, without interfering with Sir Arthur's orders.

Sir Arthur Wellesley having applied for leave of absence to return to England, after the convention, and Sir Hew Dalrymple being recalled, the command devolved on Sir Harry Burrard, who very soon requested to resign; when the ministry at home judged it best to invest Sir John with the command, and on the 6th of October 1808, he received dispatches from London with this appointment. Previous to this, it had been intended to send a British force into Galicia; but the transports being employed in carrying Junot's army to France, means had been wanting. Now, however, the plan was resumed: Sir John Moore had orders to send the cavalry by land, and a discretionary power to send the infantry and artillery by such mode of conveyance as was most rapid and practicable.

At the same time he was informed that 15,000 men under General Sir David Baird were to join him from Corunna.

Finding on enquiry that the march of the expected force under Sir David Baird would fully occupy all military means at Corunna, Sir John gave up all thoughts

by his undaunted spirit, and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory.

"His country, the object of his latest solicitude, will rear a monument to his lamented memory, and the Commander-in-Chief feels he is paying the best tribute to his fame, by thus holding him forth as an example to the army."

All his brothers have risen to eminence in their professions. One is the present gallant Graham Moore whose name will always live in the British naval annals.

Military plans.

thoughts of sending any part of his force by sea ; and the Spanish government having deputed Colonel Lopez, an officer in their service, and one well acquainted with the country, with its roads and resources, to assist the British army on its march, to establish magazines, and to make all the necessary arrangements with Sir John Moore, he not only confirmed the intelligence respecting Corunna, but also pressed Sir John, in the name of the Junta, to march by land ; assuring him that if he went by sea, one half of the army would never be able to proceed from Corunna, through want of necessaries.*

The difficulties Sir John met with, even in the outset, were great in the extreme. He found the Portuguese entirely ignorant of the state of the roads even in their own country, though they all agreed that it was impossible to transport artillery over the mountains, which form the northern boundary of Portugal ; intelligence confirmed by British officers, who had been sent on a tour of inspection : so that as equipments could not be procured at Corunna, nor food on the road by Elvas, nor artillery conveyed by Almeida, he was absolutely forced to divide his army, part of the artillery going with the cavalry through Spain, the remainder of the three divisions proceeding by different routes through Portugal. The different regiments of each division followed each other in succession to facilitate the march ; Sir John intending that the whole of the troops coming from Portugal should unite at Salamanca, and that Sir David Baird

2 H 2

and

* When the question took place whether they should proceed in a northerly direction, through Portugal to Almeida, or should take the great eastern road to Elvas, and thence march through Estramadura, it was found that the whole could not be subsisted on the road by Elvas, no magazines having previously been formed for such a body of troops. Nay, when the Spanish Commissary General was consulted on this subject, and when the quantity of meat required by the British army was explained to him, he computed that were they to be supplied with the rations specified, in three months all the oxen would be consumed, and very few hogs would be left in the country.

and General Hope* should either join there or at Valladolid: and the several divisions being moved off, Sir John Moore left Lisbon on the 27th of October, just as the Grand Spanish armies, as already observed, were commencing their plan of operations against the French army north of the Ebro.

The expectations from this army, at home, founded on the known gallantry and skill of its commander, were certainly very high, and Sir John's brother in his vindictory narrative cannot be accused of exaggeration, when he says, that during this period the Spanish and English newspapers were busily employed in reporting the enthusiastic patriotism of the Spaniards, and in asserting that all ranks, young and old, had taken up arms, were eager to rush upon their enemies, and determined to die rather than submit to a treacherous, cruel, and impious invader; for such was the spirit of the proclamations of the various Juntas, all vying with each other in magnanimous expressions.

He then adds that the British government, not trusting implicitly to such authorities, sent officers and agents into the various parts of Spain, who rivalled each other in reporting the universal ardour of the country, to which full credit was then given, and the British army dispatched into Leon, to participate

* The ancient Scottish family of Hope has been distinguished in every period of national history, so that we may consider the gallantry of General Sir John Hope as hereditary. His early military habits were formed during active service in America; and, what is more to his credit, he, with Moore and Stuart, was almost the only officer that escaped the deadly contagion of gaming, then so prevalent in our transatlantic army. In 1796 he accompanied the lamented Abercrombie to the West Indies, and behaved most gallantly at Grenada, and afterwards at St. Lucia in 1796, where he served as Brigadier General. During the remainder of the war, he was upon every active expedition; and at the commencement of our operations in Portugal was sent out on that service, proving himself a worthy disciple of the school of Abercrombie.

cipate in the glory of expelling the French from the Peninsula.

Without entering deeply into the controversy on this subject, we may just observe that there was certainly an evidently good basis for these sanguine hopes; and that although circumstances unfortunately tended to defeat the plan of co-operation, the Spanish armies being almost annihilated before Sir John Moore's advance into the country, still has the perseverance of Spain, and our late brilliant successes, sufficiently shewn that the physical and moral powers of that country were fully adequate to the expectations formed, if they had been properly directed.

In passing through the Portuguese territory, the troops behaved with such order and regularity, as to form a striking contrast to the cruelty and rapine of the French armies. The people in consequence were civil, but still there were considerable difficulties in finding a sufficient supply of provisions for such an army. There was also a great want of money, producing many inconveniences; for it had been erroneously supposed that government bills would have been accepted; and at Guarda, even the chief magistrates refused to procure provisions without regular payments, whilst the peasantry, as indeed might naturally be expected, refused any dealings with paper money: and it is stated that although Sir John Moore was usually entertained with politeness at the houses of the nobility, and saw little appearance of a French party, yet he was surprised to observe the slight interest which the Portuguese took in public affairs; they were indeed in general well inclined, but very lukewarm.

It is no doubt then that the Spaniards at this moment had perhaps too great a confidence in their own strength, and judged too hastily of the possible powers and exertions of their enemies; but it is stated that the correspondence which Sir John Moore held with men of candour and discernment, and who re-

sided upon the scene of action, tended to confirm him more and more in his conviction, that little or nothing was to be expected from the exertion of the Spaniards themselves. He appears indeed to have advanced in direct opposition to his own judgment ; but it may still be a question, whether his final want of success in his advance may not in some degree have proceeded from his own *despondency*, which is so strongly marked in many of his letters, and which, particularly in his subsequent retreat, may have produced those effects which his known gallantry and undaunted spirit would otherwise have prevented.

The difficulties of the march still increased ; and, notwithstanding the situation of affairs, it appeared impossible to correct the dilatoriness of the Spanish administration ; so that when Sir David Baird* arrived at Corunna on the 13th of October, the Gallician Junta actually refused permission for the landing of the

* Sir David Baird is another of those heroes whom Scotland has produced for the defence of the British Empire, being descended from a very ancient family in the Lothians with an estate of 8,000*l.* per annum in the possession of his eldest Brother, who, though entitled to the rank of a Baronet, has not thought proper to assume it. To write of Sir David himself, a volume would scarce suffice ; and it has been well said of him, that he is a General who, more than any officer of the age (perhaps with the exception of the Marquis of Wellington,) has seen war in all its possible varieties ; a General to whom experience has taught caution, most happily tempered in heroic gallantry by a judgment that seldom errs.

Like all or most of our modern heroes, Sir David began service during the American War, having gone, in 1779, to India, as Captain in the 73d regiment, of which he and one serjeant only now survive. Whilst in that country he saw much hot service, particularly in one action with a considerable, and indeed overwhelming, force of the enemy, when the Grenadiers of his company fought with such determined heroism, that many of them were still seen loading their last cartridge after both their legs had been shot away. The few who remained, however, after the slaughter, were made prisoners, and Captain Baird carried to that fortress which he afterwards so gallantly stormed.

His subsequent services are too well known, in Egypt, at the Cape, &c. &c. to require notice ; indeed the very enumeration of them only would fill a page.

the troops! The astonishment of Sir David at this extraordinary circumstance may easily be conceived; he had, however, no alternative, but to send off expresses to Madrid and Lisbon; though he at last obtained leave to disembark, but with such a cold reception and such a total absence of all exertion in preparing his equipments, that he actually wrote to Sir John Moore to enquire whether the Supreme Junta had yet given permission for British troops to be admitted into Spain.

In the early part of November Sir John Moore by rapid marches had reached Atalaia: in fact he found greater facilities than he had expected; for, though the roads were certainly very bad, still were they practicable for artillery; though such was the extreme ignorance of the Portuguese, that instead of procuring any of them for guides, British officers were obliged, from station to station, to reconnoitre, and actually to trace out the route. The previous misinformation was also the more to be regretted; as otherwise, General Hope's division might very well have been brought by this route along with the rest of the army.

The troops now reached Almeida by the 8th of November; and, though it rained incessantly, they marched on cheerfully in spite of the weather, and behaved extremely well, notwithstanding the inhospitality of the country they were marching through. The appearance of the country, however, and the manners of the people, improved greatly on first crossing the boundary line between Portugal and Spain; for the advantage was greatly in favour of the latter; particularly at Ciudad Rodrigo, where the army was received with shouts of "Viva los Ingleses!"

On the 13th of November, Sir John Moore arrived with the advanced guard of his army at Salamanca; and there he halted, intending to assemble all the troops coming from Portugal, before he should push further into Spain; a plan more particularly necessary,

sary as he had just then got intelligence of the fate of the army of Estramadura, already mentioned.*

Sir John had only been two days at Salamanca, when he was informed by an express from the governor of the province, General Pignatelli, that the French army had advanced and taken possession of Valladolid, which is only twenty leagues from Salamanca. At this period, Sir John was only with his advanced corps, in an open town, three marches from the French army, without even a Spanish picquet to cover his front, although he had been promised that his march into Spain should be covered by a force of sixty or seventy thousand men; and his own force consisted

* The opinion of Sir John Moore respecting the cause in which he was then engaged may be drawn from a few extracts from a letter to Lord William Bentinck, dated the 13th of November.

"I am sorry to say, from Sir David Baird I hear nothing but complaints of the Junta of Corunna, who afford him no assistance. They promise every thing, but give nothing—we find no difficulty with the people; they receive us every where well. But the authorities are backward, and not like a country that want our assistance. The officer you mention to have been sent to Sir David Baird travelled by slow journeys as if in profound peace; and, consequently, arrived too late, and when little wanted. The head of Baird's column is this day at Astorga; but had they waited for the said officer, it would have been still at Corunna. The Spaniards seem to think that every body should fly but themselves. I differ only with you in one point in which you say the chief and great obstacle and resistance to the French will be afforded by the English army. If that be so, Spain is lost. The English army, I hope, will do all which can be expected from their numbers; but the safety of Spain depends upon the union of its inhabitants, their enthusiasm in their cause, and in their firm and devoted determination to die, rather than submit to the French; nothing short of this will enable them to resist the formidable attack about to be made upon them. If they will adhere, our aid can be of the greatest use to them; but, if not, we shall soon be outnumbered, were our force quadrupled. I am, therefore, much more anxious to see exertion and energy in the government, and enthusiasm in their armies, than to have my force augmented. The moment is a critical one—my own situation is particularly so—I have never seen it otherwise;—but I have pushed into Spain at all hazards;—this was the order of my government—and the will of the people of England. I shall endeavour to do my best, hoping that all the bad that may happen will not happen; but that, with a share of bad, we shall also have a portion of good fortune."

sisted of only three brigades of infantry, without a single gun, as the remainder were moving up in succession, but could not be expected under less than ten days.

Decisive measures were instantly necessary; for if the French advanced in force, he had no option but to fall back on Ciudad Rodrigo; the country in which vicinity, being very poor, could not long afford subsistence for the troops; and if he should even retreat into Portugal, his situation would scarcely be improved.

He, therefore, assembled the Junta of Salamanca, and explained to them the situation of affairs, calling on them to make such sacrifices as the occasion required, and stating the necessity of his having carts and mules, should it be necessary to retire. All this was listened to with calm acquiescence, and the whole party seemed to hear of the generous intentions of the British, and of the destructive ravages of the French, with equal indifference. He therefore found himself forced to depend on his own resources, and sent orders to Generals Baird and Hope to concentrate their divisions, to advance with all speed to Salamanca, but to be on their guard upon their march.

At this crisis, Mr. Frere had arrived as Minister-Plenipotentiary from Great Britain, and Mr. Moore laments that he unfortunately had acquired all his notions of Spanish patriotism and politics in London, and that his prepossessions were much too strong to be effaced by the observations of his predecessors, or even to be altered by the most opposing facts. It must, however, be observed, that if Mr. Frere was too sanguine in his hopes, there were many others who were too despondent in an observation fully justified by subsequent events, and which may be considered as in some measure illustrated by a letter of Mr. Frere's of the 13th of November, to Sir John Moore, in which he says, "the fixed spirit of resistance, which, without calculation of danger or of means, seems to have

rooted itself in the minds of the people, appears superior to any reverse ;” thus fully exemplifying what in some measure may be applied to their subsequent conduct.*

Sir David Baird did not reach Astorga until the 19th of November, and then only with part of his infantry, having had to encounter a thousand deficiencies, and to struggle with difficulties entirely new to him, meeting with a variety of obstacles in his progress, and receiving but little aid from the Spaniards in overcoming them. From Astorga, Sir David thought it imprudent to advance ; and, in an official letter, he said, “ We have no kind of support to expect from the Spaniards, who are completely dispersed and driven from the field ; and if I were to move forward the infantry I have at present here, I should necessarily expose myself to be beaten in detail, without a chance of being able to oppose any effectual resistance.”

Lieutenant-General Hope, who had proceeded by the Elvas road, had already done wonders ; for, notwithstanding his toilsome march, he, by indefatigable exertions, and good arrangements, had provided for the subsistence of the corps under his command ; and had brought them into the vicinity of Madrid. Yet, upon the whole, the situation of affairs in Spain was becoming evidently more and more critical ; and every account sent to Sir John Moore, by those whom he considered as men of sound judgment, was filled with statements of the Spanish government having most unwisely

* A curious circumstance mentioned in Sir John Moore’s own journal, and highly illustrative of the honour and integrity of the Spanish character, deserves notice here.

“ Lord Proby was at Tordesillas reconnoitring, when a patrol of French cavalry came into the town. They stayed some time. Every man in the town knew that Proby was there, for he had been two days among them ; yet not a man betrayed him ; and when the cavalry left the place, and his lordship came into the street, they all testified their satisfaction, and declared that, though they had no arms, they would have died rather than have allowed him to be taken.

unwisely concealed their desperate situation from their ally.

Under such circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that Sir John Moore, as well as some other of his officers, should have viewed the Spanish cause with despair; yet subsequent events have shewn, that the hopes of the more sanguine have been far from being disappointed; and that, though Spain may have been tardy in her exertions, she was not more so than what naturally resulted from the general state of society in that country, and from her habits and prejudices; for though a people may be simultaneously roused to action, it will still require time to produce a unity of action in all cases where the spirit of enthusiasm does not immediately operate.*

The defeat of Castanos's army we have already mentioned; the intelligence of which arrived at Salamanca on the 28th of November, and totally darkened the aspect of affairs. Whilst this army remained, there still appeared to Sir John Moore a hope of
212 resist-

* In making these observations, we profess, at the same time, the highest admiration of his military talents, and give him every credit for the indefatigability of his exertions at this crisis. His occupations were indeed too important and pressing to admit of a moment's relaxation, and the quantity of business he transacted may be conceived from the manner in which his time was daily employed. He always rose between three and four in the morning, lighted his fire and candle by a lamp which was placed in his room, and employed himself in writing till eight o'clock, when the officers of the family were assembled for breakfast. After this meal, he received the general officers, and all persons with whom he had business; and the necessary orders were issued. His pen was frequently in his hand in the forenoon also; for he wrote all his letters himself. He always rode before dinner for an hour or two, either to view the troops, or to reconnoitre the country. His table was plentiful; and the company varied from fourteen to twenty officers. He was a very plain and moderate eater, and seldom drank more than three or four glasses of wine, conversing with his officers with great frankness and cheerfulness. His portfolio was usually open again before he went to bed; but, unless kept up by business, he never set up later than ten o'clock.

By this regularity and assiduity, all his affairs were transacted with order, and without procrastination.

Proposed retreat.

resistance in the north of Spain ; but now he gave up all expectations of it, considering it evident that if Buonaparte chose, as might be expected, to push forward his advanced corps upon him, his junction with General Hope would be very doubtful, and that with Sir David Baird impossible.

For these reasons, he at once took the resolution of withdrawing the army from Galicia and Leon, and of assembling it upon the banks of the Tagus ; the proposed advantages of which measures were, that the whole British force would be collected, and united with upwards of 10,000 men more, who were left in Portugal.*

In the mean time he thought it possible that all the scattered corps of the Spanish army might fall back and concentrate, and there receive such new levies as might be raised in the southern provinces ; which, when assembled, might still form an army capable of making a stand, and to whose aid the British might then move forward in a formidable body. He considered, that if the Spaniards had constancy to hold out, and fortitude to continue the contest, an opportunity would still be afforded them ; for in the south all their energies might be put forth, and effectual assistance afforded them by the British army ; or should their armies even be repelled in these efforts, still secure retreats were afforded them in the protection of Cadiz and Gibraltar. Indeed it appears from all his correspondence that it had always been a favourite plan of Sir John Moore to commence and carry on the military operations from the south of Spain.

Sir

* It is but fair to acknowledge that the magnitude of the force under Sir John Moore increased his difficulties of transport and of subsistence. It has been asked, however, " how comes it then that much larger French armies were supported ? " The answer is obvious--the French were in an enemy's country, and helped themselves to whatever could be had ; when we, being in the country of an ally, were obliged to pursue a different line of conduct.

Sir John now took the resolution of retreating without waiting for any further communications from the British ambassador, and the fate of Castanos convinced him that the situation of his army admitted of no delay.

He then assembled the general officers, and shewed them the intelligence he had received, and the plan he had adopted. He told them, "that he had not called them together to request their counsel, or to induce them to commit themselves by giving any opinion upon the subject. He took the responsibility entirely upon himself; and he only required that they would immediately prepare for carrying it into effect."

His brother, indeed, in his narrative, allows that the idea of retreating was very generally disapproved of by the army in general. The murmurs against it from officers of rank were heard in every quarter. Even the staff officers of Sir John Moore's family lamented it; and for the first time doubted the wisdom of his decision.

That it was equally unpalatable with the privates may also be believed, if we are to credit a report that during the subsequent retreat, whenever their backs were towards the enemy, insubordination ensued; but that whenever a halt was made, with any hopes of engaging, then the real character of the British soldier displayed itself, and order, regularity, obedience, and even enthusiasm, prevailed.

We vouch not for the truth of this anecdote; but having heard it from several respectable quarters, our belief in it is further confirmed by a perusal of all the general orders issued by Sir John during this unfortunate retreat.

Some disagreement now arose between Sir John Moore and the British ambassador, probably on both sides, from some unfortunate misunderstanding, and probably from the extreme difference of their opinions both on political subjects, and on the military measures

tures of the Commander-in-Chief; but it is beyond our plan to enter upon a controversy not immediately connected with the point in review, which is merely a detail of the present operations, to illustrate and exemplify more fully the operations under the Marquis of Wellington, without endeavouring to raise the fame of one general upon the misfortunes of another.

Still, however, in furtherance of our prime object, some of the reasons urged by Mr. Frere, to prevent a retreat, or to point out the route to Galicia, as more favourable, for *political* reasons, than that upon Portugal, deserve a slight notice.

He observed that the provinces which Sir John Moore had hitherto seen in Spain were the least of all distinguished either for a military, patriotic, or provincial spirit. No man, he observed, ever called himself a *Leonese*; and their very Junta yielded up their powers to that of the Asturias; whilst with the exception of La Mancha, and the city of Madrid, the same observation would apply nearly to the whole of Old and New Castile.

In the course of the late events, he acknowledged that they had been entirely passive; and had quietly seen their country, in succession, occupied by the strongest party; but then this was in a great measure to be accounted for from the fact of their living in open villages in vast plains, without arms, and without horses, having thus neither the means of defence or escape. Yet even thus unhappily situated, it had been seen that the towns were always abandoned at the approach of the French; that not a single magistrate had been brought over to take an oath of allegiance to the Pretender; and that the French throughout the whole district had not been able to enlist a single soldier. It was at this period that the insidious conduct of Morla, in attempting to persuade Sir John Moore to advance to Madrid whilst he himself was in treaty with the enemy, took place; and such

Proposed advance.

such was the art of the traitor that he evidently was successful in some measure, even in imposing on Mr. Frere, our ambassador, though on the spot, or nearly so, being then at Talavera, afterwards rendered so famous by the British arms. So much so, indeed, that Mr. Frere sent a very pressing letter by Colonel Charmilly, an emigrant officer in our service, who had just left Madrid, and whose verbal representations to Sir John Moore were so highly descriptive of the spirit of the inhabitants of that capital, that, on the 5th of December, he actually was convinced that a great and unexpected improvement in the public affairs had taken place; and he, therefore, judged that he ought not to pursue his plan of retreat, and immediately abandoned his intention, resolving to support Madrid to the utmost of his power. He, therefore, wrote to Sir David Baird to return bag and baggage to Astorga, he having already commenced his preconcerted retreat; and at this moment General Hope, by means of rapid marches, had brought his division close to Salamanca. The position of the British army had, by this means, become much more secure; for Sir John had now a complete though small corps, with cavalry and artillery; whilst, by a movement to the left, his junction with Sir David Baird was certain.

Being desirous of obtaining the co-operation of the only Spanish corps within reach, he wrote immediately to the Marquis of Romana, who was at Leon, expressing his wish to unite with him, and to take such operations as they might judge best for the support of Madrid, and the defeat of the enemy.

But the knowledge of the absolute submission of the capital now completely deranged the proposed plan of operations, and retreat from Salamanca was again determined on, particularly as there was reason to believe that the effective French force then in Spain actually amounted to 177,000 men, whilst the whole British force was no more than 18,416 who had

marched from Portugal, and 9550 who had followed Sir David Baird from Corunna, making in the whole 25,631 infantry and 2450 cavalry; their artillery, indeed, was numerous, but of a very small calibre; for, including a brigade of three pounders, it amounted to fifty guns.

Sir John Moore, now joined by General Hope's division, was anxious to unite with Sir David Baird, and to endeavour to prosecute the war in the north of Spain, instead of retiring upon the Tagus.

In this crisis his brother says, and we are disposed to give him full credit, that Sir John knew that the passes of Somosierra and Guadarama were possessed by the French, and that an attempt to force them would be destructive; yet if he continued where he was, or only guarded the frontiers of Galicia, every thing valuable in Spain would be quickly subdued. The first of these, therefore, he rejected as rash, and the other as futile; but he formed *and executed* a plan for stopping the progress of the French, and relieving Spain, which has been highly admired by masters in the art of war. "This will be gradually developed." But as he found that the Spanish generals who had been deputed to him were quite incapable of discussing a plan, or giving him any advice, he thought it imprudent to confide his intentions to them. He considered it most advisable to trust no one with his designs, except the government, and the generals commanding armies, who were to co-operate with him.

Yet one of those "incapable" generals wrote to him on the 7th of December to say, "For if, instead of uniting the two divisions of your army with the army of the Marquis of Romana at Zamora, or some other point that may impose upon the enemy, you persist in putting your design in execution, you will immediately occasion the destruction of Spain, and perhaps your excellency will be *under the necessity of embarking for England.*"

That

That Sir John Moore, however, did intend to connect himself with the Marquis of Romana, is evident from his letter to that officer; as well as from his subsequent instructions to Sir David Baird. In the morning of the 8th Sir John Moore received intelligence from the gallant Colonel (now Sir Thomas) Graham, that the enemy had got possession of the capital, but that the Junta concealed the fact as much as possible, completely softening down the principal fact, and making it appear that Madrid had, instead of surrendering, only entered into a kind of armistice with the enemy. This Sir John neither absolutely believed, nor did he totally discredit it, but again considered himself compelled to make every effort in his power for the relief of the capital, and accordingly advanced from Salamanca. The movement was made from the left flank by brigades, towards the Douro. The reserve and General Beresford's brigades were marched to Toro, there to unite with the cavalry under Lord Paget, whilst Sir John Moore moved with the remaining divisions towards Tordesillas. Sir David Baird was directed to push on his brigades to Benavente; and the whole being united, it was proposed to proceed to Valladolid, with the view of threatening the communication between Madrid and the French territory.

Even on the 12th of December, Sir John was still ignorant of the *absolute* submission of Madrid, and had hopes that his movements might be of use towards the saving of that city: and on the very same day Brigadier-General Stuart whilst moving from Arevolo with the 18th and German dragoons, having got information that a party of French cavalry and infantry had got possession of a village called Rueda, he attacked it in the night by surprise, with a party of the 18th light dragoons, and killed or took prisoners almost the whole of the detachment. This was the first encounter of the French and British in Spain; and the march of the British had been so well

concealed that the French were astonished to find that there were any English troops there ; the prisoners declaring that it was universally believed they had retreated.

The intelligence soon after received, though unfavourable as to Madrid, still afforded some consolation to Sir John, in finding that Buonaparte believed he was retreating ; but as it was evident that Soult's corps was much stronger than had been represented, he considered it no longer advisable to march to Valladolid, lest Sir David Baird should be attacked in forming his junction, but thought it preferable to move to Toro, thus commencing that retreat which afterwards ended so unfortunately for the general cause, though certainly without diminishing the lustre of the British arms.

Sir John Moore, however, still had hopes of being able to meet with Soult in his march towards Sir David Baird, and that, if possible, before he could receive any reinforcements, and before any French corps should be pushed forward on his right flank to endanger his retreat.

To pursue Sir John, though the whole detail of his manœuvres is not exactly part of our plan, it is sufficient to say, that in his further advance, he was checked by the retreat of Romana, and by the little chance of any further Spanish co-operation, although his own force amounted to 23,000 infantry, and upwards of 2000 cavalry *.

Romana's

* On the 20th of December Lord Paget, by a well concerted movement, attacked and defeated the advanced guard of the enemy's cavalry at Sahagun, to the number of about 700. At this period the head-quarters of the French were at Majorga, but the cavalry and horse artillery were advanced to Monastero Melgar Abaxo, within three leagues of Sahagun.

The weather was extremely cold, and the ground covered with deep snow ; yet Lord Paget resolved to cut off the above-mentioned detachment, and accordingly marched at two o'clock in the morning, and sent General Slade with the 10th hussars along the Cea to enter the town,

Plans of Buonaparte.

Romana's force was, however, at length brought so forward as to induce Sir John to direct a movement on their part in the latter end of December, whilst he should make a proposed attack on the enemy; Soult having his force of 18,000 men concentrated behind the river Carrion, and the head columns of Junot's corps being between Vittoria and Burgos. But an influx of intelligence soon convinced Sir John, that the French reinforcements were advancing rapidly, and that Buonaparte was fully prepared: accordingly the forward march of the troops was instantly countermanded*. Sir John, therefore, pre-
 2 K 2 paring

town, whilst he proceeded towards it in another direction with the 15th dragoons and horse artillery.

His lordship approached to the place at dawn, and surprised a picquet: but two or three men escaped, and gave the alarm. He pushed forward, and discovered the enemy formed up, not far from the town. The two corps manœuvred for some time, each endeavouring to gain the flank of its opponent. At first the ground was unfavourable to the British, particularly from the situation of a hollow; but, by superior skill, his lordship surmounted this difficulty, passed the hollow, completely out-manœuvred the enemy, and charged them at a favourable moment, when the French, having wheeled into line, very injudiciously awaited the shock. Being unequal to this, they were overthrown in an instant, and dispersed in every direction, many killed, with two Lieutenant-Colonels, and 157 prisoners; the whole British Hussars not being more than 400!

The gallant Lord Paget (now the Earl of Uxbridge) was destined in very early life for the army, after receiving his education at Westminster School, and spending a short time at Oxford. To trace him through his various services on the continent would be to detail almost every action which happened there; it is enough to say that he is now esteemed one of the best cavalry officers we have, a fact fully proved by his conduct during Sir John Moore's retreat, when in this long interval, and against a vast superiority of force, the French army being 70,000 strong, of which the British fell short by 30,000, yet still the latter had the advantage in every encounter. In fact the rear guard, and covering cavalry commanded by Lord Paget, were never broken; and the main army was thus enabled, unmolested by the enemy, to continue their arduous march: so that as long as the name of Moore shall be remembered, so shall the skill and gallantry of Paget!

* The plan of Buonaparte was certainly that of a great general: its particulars

paring for the danger, calculated the time; but to frustrate the plan was forced to continue his retreat, which he was silently, but busily, occupied in preparing for on the 24th of December, when the whole disposable force of the French army, forming an irregular crescent, was marching with rapid steps to environ his army. To accomplish this favourite object, says Sir John's brother, Buonaparte stopt his victorious career in the South, where there was nothing capable of resisting him. Lisbon and Cadiz would have yielded as easily as Madrid, and those must be sanguine indeed, who can believe that any further resistance would have been made in Spain. He then proceeds to observe, that the bold measures adopted by Sir John Moore arrested the immediate subjugation of the country; for though he had intelligence sufficient to induce him to retire, still he had not learned the whole amount of the force that was marching against him, and was resolved not to be alarmed into a false step, nor retreat one step further than was absolutely necessary, as he wished to defend the Gallicias if possible.*

Several

particulars were evidently disclosed by his movements; but exact information has also been obtained through Major Napier of the 50th regiment, who, having been afterwards stabbed in the body by a bayonet at the battle of Corunna, and wounded in the head by a sabre, yet gallantly defended his life, until quarter was promised to him. When a prisoner he was treated most handsomely by Soult, and dined with Marshal Ney frequently, who, as well as General Laborde, and other officers of rank, frankly told him the designs and sentiments of Napoleon.

When Buonaparte first received intelligence that the British were moving to the Douro, he exclaimed, "Moore is the only general now fit to contend with me; I shall advance against him in person!" Accordingly, orders were sent to Soult to give way if attacked, to decoy the British army to Burgos, and to push on a corps to Leon on their left flank, whilst Buonaparte himself moved rapidly with all the disposable force from Benavente, thus expecting to surround the British with 60 or 70,000 men before they could possibly reach Galicia.

* Whilst on the heights of Lugo, on the 17th of January, the French attacked

Several skirmishes took place during the early part of the retreat*, and on the 27th the rear guard crossed the Eslar, and blew up the bridge.

The retreat seemed now a determined measure; but we shall waive all observations on it, only observing, that whenever the British army stopped, or whenever there was a slight affair of detachments, their conduct was always highly meritorious, though it appears from Sir John Moore's general orders, that there

attacked a division of the left wing; and a body of them having penetrated up a lane, drove a few of our light troops before them, and turned the flank of the picquet of the 92d regiment. On this Sir John Moore, who was near the spot, rallied a few, and led them back, when Brigade Major Roberts, passing Sir John, huzzaed the men forward, and charged the French, himself shooting one man. He then rode into the field on their flank; and, having gained their front, ordered the officer to lay down his arms; but he refused, and directed his men to fire, which they did, but missed the major, who immediately fired and shot the officer. He was then fired at again, and two bullets passed through his right hand, whilst returning a pistol he had discharged; to its holster case. Two more passed through his cloak, and another cut in two his horse's bridle; yet he succeeded in repelling the party, after which he was obliged to have his hand amputated on the field. In this business the French had eighty-three killed and wounded, and 125 made prisoners; whilst the whole British loss was the major wounded, and two privates killed.

* On the 26th Lord Paget fell in with a detachment of the advanced guards of Buonaparte's own army at Majorga. His lordship immediately ordered Colonel Leigh, with two squadrons of the 10th Hussars, to attack this corps, which had halted on the summit of a steep hill. One of Colonel Leigh's squadrons was kept in reserve; the other rode briskly up the hill; on approaching the top, where the ground was rugged, the colonel judiciously reined in to refresh the horses, though exposed to a severe fire from the enemy. When he had nearly gained the summit, and the horses had recovered their breath, he charged boldly, and overthrew the enemy; many of whom were killed and wounded, and above a hundred surrendered prisoners.

Nothing indeed could excel the coolness and gallantry displayed by the British cavalry on this occasion. The 18th dragoons had signalized themselves in several former skirmishes: Captain Jones, when at Valencia, had ventured to charge 200 French dragoons with only thirty British, when fourteen of the enemy were killed and six taken prisoners.

there were some individual cases which required notice*.

When Buonaparte had assembled his whole army at Astorga, to the amount of 70,000 men, and perceived, by the masterly arrangements of Sir John Moore, that it was no longer possible to intercept him, he desisted from his personal pursuit, and contented himself with detaching three marshals, with as many divisions, to follow the British closely, and to destroy them either before, or during their embarkation at Cornunna, to which place Sir John Moore judged it most prudent to proceed†. It is an unpleasant

* During this retreat a gallant achievement of a small party of cavalry deserves particular notice. It appears, that the British in their retreat over a river had blown up the bridge; but the French cavalry discovered a ford above it, where they crossed. They then formed, and were nearly double the number that could be brought against them. Our brave countrymen rejoiced at the sight, and forgot the disparity of numbers. They advanced smartly upon the enemy, who stood to receive them; and at a short distance fired upon the British. GENERAL STEWART, who commanded, then advanced beyond his line, and gave the words "Draw!"—"Charge!" The British rushed on; the French received them firmly; and for a quarter of an hour the clash of sabres rung like a peal of bells. General Stewart was opposed to GENERAL LE FEBVRE, whom he made prisoner. Several other French officers also were taken, and a great many men fell on both sides. But here, as on the plains of Maida, British courage proved more firm and determined than that of the French. The proud Imperial guard, (the officers of which declared they had never before been beaten,) gave way before an inferior number of British dragoons, and retreated across the ford. At this moment, three cannon were brought to bear upon them, and the broad river was discoloured with blood.

† Although the enemy were indeed frustrated in their attacks up to this period, yet a multitude of severe distresses were now accumulating upon the British, which the prudence of their leader could not avert. Deluges of cold rain fell, chilling and drenching the soldiers, who were wading in bad roads, deep with mud. It was often difficult to procure shelter when they halted; or fuel to dry their clothes, or to dress their food. The provisions were often scanty, and irregularly procured; for the baggage, magazines, and stores, were transported on carts, drawn chiefly by Spanish mules and bullocks; but the drivers, terrified

pleasant task to enter much further into this unfortunate series of halting and retreating, particularly as it has been so accurately detailed in Mr. Moore's narrative of the campaign*. In fact, in the early part of January 1809, the enemy pressed on so hard that the rear guard was almost always engaged; and in such circumstances it was impossible to suffer any thing to retard the march of the columns; of course, whatever could not keep up was destroyed †. We are

terrified by the approach and attacks of the French cavalry, often ran away in the night time, leaving their waggons; persuaded that if they fell into the hands of the French, they would be massacred. The bullocks and mules unfortunately could not be made to move, except by the native drivers, so that provisions and stores were often obliged to be destroyed; and, for the same reason, the sick and wounded were necessarily left behind!

* To the valuable lives lost in this retreat, though not by the sword of the enemy, we may add that of General Anstruther, eldest son of Sir Robert, whose services were always of the most brilliant kind. He could write too as well as he fought, and the dispatches which he wrote in the autumn of 1796, when with the Austrian army, giving an account of the operations of the Archduke Charles, are perfect models of military composition. In Holland and in Egypt his conduct was highly meritorious; and at the memorable battle of Vimiera, when Sir Arthur Wellesley sent one of his aids-du-camp to say that a corps, not then warmly engaged, should be sent to his assistance; he coolly replied, "Sir, I want no assistance. I am beating the French, and am able to beat them whenever I meet them."

With Sir John Moore he commanded the reserve, and the fatigue and anxiety to which he was exposed were so incessant and so great in the extreme, sleeping constantly in the open air, and undergoing every fatigue and privation of the lowest soldier, that his constitution sunk under it, and he expired through an unconquerable zeal for the service. He was buried in one of the bastions of the citadel gate of Corunna, which overlooks the sea, where some future military pilgrim, in days of peace, may sigh over his grave!

† There were even two carts with dollars, to the amount of five and twenty thousand pounds, which fell behind. This money had been brought forward from Corunna with Sir David Baird's corps, and was under the charge of the Paymaster General's department. The means provided for its conveyance were insufficient; for the carts were drawn by tardy bullocks, who were quite exhausted with fatigue, and could not be got on. After every effort was in vain, the casks were at length rolled

are sorry to say that Sir John Moore's general orders bespeak a system of insubordination which we scarcely thought possible in a British army under any circumstances; but we forbear all comment; nor will we disturb the ashes of the gallant dead*.

From day to day the same sufferings and the same circumstances occurred, until the arrival of the army before Corunna, after traversing 250 miles of country, through mountains, defiles, and rivers, and constantly in contact with a superior pursuing enemy: but, though often engaged, even their rear-guard was never beaten, nor thrown into confusion, but was victorious in every encounter.

Every thing was now prepared for embarkation from Corunna †, in preference to Vigo; but it was soon

rolled down a precipice on the side of the road, and the advanced guard of the French passed the place in five minutes afterwards. It was afterwards learnt, that this money was found by some Spanish peasants.

* During the whole of this unhappy business, the conduct of the Spaniards was generally inhospitable; and, on finding the advance was given up, they became hostile. Much allowance, however, must be made. It was unfortunate that from the offensive conduct of some few of the British troops the whole army suffered; but yet the unanimous sentiment of antipathy, and the general disgust that was felt and expressed by the army, must undoubtedly have become so general from the selfish, and in many instances, inhuman, conduct of the Spaniards themselves. On many occasions, fearful of being obliged to receive the wet, hungry, and wearied soldiers after a toilsome march, they shut up their windows, and barred their doors; nor would they reply to the intreaties of the poor fellows for shelter, until they were forced, with their musquets, to break the doors open.

† The town of Corunna is strengthened by batteries, and guns mounted at all points; the citadel is strongly fortified, as indeed is the town; but both are commanded by a hill within a short distance, so that for Sir John Moore to have stood a siege would have been impossible. The citadel forms a small town, and contains the houses of the people of distinction, and one or two convents. It is composed of very narrow streets, paved with rough flag stones; the houses are very large, but the ground floors are used entirely for offices; there is little appearance of comfort within the houses, not even the sociable sight of a blazing

Battle of Corunna.

soon discovered that the French army would not permit it to take place without an attack, in hopes of fulfilling their boast of driving the English into the sea.

About one in the afternoon of the 16th of January the enemy, who had on the morning received reinforcements, and who had placed some guns in front of the right and left of his line, was observed to be moving troops toward his left flank, and forming various columns of attack at that extremity of the strong and commanding position, which, on the morning of the 16th, he had taken in the immediate front of the British army.

This indication of his intention was immediately succeeded by a rapid and determined attack upon Sir David Baird's division, which occupied the right of the British. This first effort of the enemy was met by Sir John Moore, and by Sir David Baird, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Major-General Lord William Bentinck.

The village on the right now became an object of most obstinate contest; Sir David Baird here received a severe wound, which deprived the army of his services; and soon after Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able disposition, fell by a cannon shot.

The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had just sustained, were not dismayed; but, by the most determined bravery not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those actually engaged.

The enemy finding himself foiled in every attempt

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a blazing fire; and although the weather, whilst the British troops were in this part of the country, would have admitted of some artificial heat, yet, after all their sufferings, this was a comfort which they could not enjoy.

to force the right of the British position, endeavoured by superior numbers to turn it ; but a judicious and well timed movement, which was made by Major-General Paget, with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, accompanied by a vigorous attack, defeated this intention. The Major-General having pushed forward a rifle corps, the 95th, and the first battalion of the 52d regiment, drove the enemy before him ; and, in his rapid and judicious advance, threatened the left of his position ; which circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Fraser's division (calculated to give still further security to the right of the line) induced the enemy to relax their efforts in that quarter.

These efforts, however, were but the more forcibly directed towards the centre ; where they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham forming the left of Sir David Baird's division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of the division under Lieutenant-General Hope.

Upon the left, the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon the British picquets, which, however, in general maintained their ground. Finding his efforts thus unavailing upon the right and centre, he now seemed determined to make the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in gaining possession of a village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line.

From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the 2d battalion of the 14th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nichols ; so that, before five in the evening, the British had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon that position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and had occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of

the action, whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six, the firing entirely ceased. The different brigades were re-assembled on the ground they occupied in the morning, and the picquets and advanced posts resumed their original stations.

Notwithstanding the decided and marked superiority which at this moment the gallantry of the troops had given them over the enemy, who from his numbers and the commanding advantages of his position no doubt expected an easy victory, General Hope, on reviewing all circumstances, did not conceive that he should be warranted, in departing from what he knew was the fixed and previous determination of the late gallant Commander-in-Chief, to withdraw the army in the evening of the 16th for embarkation, the previous arrangements for which had already been made by his orders, and even in fact far advanced at the commencement of the action.*

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Orders

* The personal exertions of the gallant Moore himself deserve due notice. When the French artillery plunged from the heights, and the two hostile lines of infantry mutually advanced, beneath a shower of balls, yet for some time they were still separated from each other by stone walls and hedges, which intersected the ground. As they closed, it was perceived that the French line extended beyond the right flank of the British; and a body of the enemy were observed moving up the valley to turn it. An order was instantly given, and the half of the 4th regiment, which formed this flank, fell back, refusing their right, and making an obtuse angle with the other half. In this position they commenced a heavy flanking fire; and Sir John Moore watching the manœuvre called out to them, that was exactly what he wanted to be done.

He then rode up to the 59th regiment, commanded by Majors Napier and Stanhope; who got over an inclosure in their front, and charged most gallantly. The General, ever an admirer of valour, exclaimed, "Well done the fiftieth! well done my Majors!"—using this expression in allusion to his having recommended them both to the rank they held, entertaining in particular a sincere friendship for the honourable Major Stanhope, second son of Earl Stanhope, and nephew to the late Mr. Pitt. This gallant regiment, so bravely led, soon drove the enemy

Orders were, therefore, given for the troops to quit their position about ten at night, which was done with

my out of the village of Elvina, with great slaughter ; but in the conflict Major Napier, advancing too far, was wounded and taken prisoner, and Major Stanhope unfortunately received a mortal wound.*

Sir John now proceeded to the 42d, addressing them in these words, " Highlanders, remember Egypt !"—they rushed on, driving the French before them, till they were stopped by a wall. Sir John accompanied them in the charge, and told the soldiers that he was well pleased with their conduct. He then sent Captain Hardinge to order up a battalion of guards to the left flank of the Highlanders ; upon which the officer, commanding the light company, conceived that as their ammunition was nearly expended, they were to be relieved by the guards, and began to fall back ; but Sir John, discovering the mistake, said to them, " My brave 42d, join your comrades, ammunition is coming, and you have your bayonets." They instantly obeyed, and all moved forward.

Captain Hardinge now returned to report that the guards were advancing. While he was speaking, and pointing out the situation of the battalion, a hot fire was kept up, and the enemy's artillery played incessantly on the spot. Sir John Moore was too conspicuous. A cannon ball struck his left shoulder, and beat him to the ground.

He raised himself, and sat up with an unaltered countenance, looking intently at the Highlanders, who were warmly engaged. Captain Hardinge threw himself from his horse, and took him by the hand ; then, observing his anxiety, he told him the 42d were advancing ; upon which his countenance immediately brightened. His friend Colonel Graham now dismounted to assist him ; and, from the composure of his features, entertained hopes that he was not even wounded ; but observing the horrid laceration, and effusion of blood, he rode off for surgeons.

The General was now carried from the field of battle, in a blanket, by a Serjeant of the 42d and some soldiers. On his way, knowing of Sir David Baird being wounded, he ordered Captain Hardinge to report his own wound to General Hope, who then assumed the command.

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* After the battle Major Stanhope was buried by his brother at the entrance of that post, where he had bivouacked the night preceding the action ; and as the surviving and disconsolate brother was leaning forward from his horse, taking a last sad and silent look at his beloved remains, the grave being then just filling up, a rifle shot from the French advanced posts penetrated his cloak, which was strapped before him, and struck him on the side. Had it not been for the circumstance of the cloak breaking the force of the ball, he would have fallen into his brother's grave.

Fall of Sir John Moore.

with a degree of order much to their credit. The whole of the artillery, that remained unembarked having

The tidings of this unfortunate disaster were carried to Sir David Baird, when the surgeons were dressing his shattered arm. He instantly commanded them to desist, and to run to attend Sir John Moore; but when they arrived and offered their assistance, he coolly said, "You can be of no service to me, go to the soldiers, to whom you may be useful."

As the soldiers were carrying him slowly along, he made them turn him round frequently, to view the field of battle, and to listen to the firing; and was well pleased when the sound grew fainter. At this period a spring waggon, bearing Colonel Wynch wounded from the battle, came up. The Colonel asked, "Who was in the blanket?" and being told it was Sir John Moore, he wished him to be placed in the waggon: but the General asking one of the Highlanders whether he thought the waggon or the blanket best, the honest fellow answered that the blanket would not shake him so much, as he and the other soldiers could keep the step and carry him easy. Sir John said, "I think so too," and thus they proceeded with him to his lodgings, the soldiers shedding tears as they went. In carrying him through the passage of the house, he saw his faithful servant Francois, who was stunned at the spectacle; but Sir John said to him, smiling, "My friend, this is nothing."

The remaining incidents of his gallant life we may draw from a sketch written by his most intimate friend Colonel Anderson, who drew up an account the following morning, stating—

"I met the General in the evening of the 16th, bringing in a blanket and sashes. He knew me immediately, though it was almost dark, squeezed me by the hand, and said *Anderson, don't leave me*. He spoke to the surgeons on their examining his wound, but was in such pain, he could say but little.

"After some time he seemed very anxious to speak to me, and at intervals got out as follows, *Anderson, you know that I have always wished to die this way!* He then asked, *Are the French beaten*, which he repeated to every one he knew, as they came in. *I hope the people of England will be satisfied!—I hope my country will do me justice!—Anderson—you will see my friends as soon as you can—tell them—every thing—say to my Mother—* here his voice quite failed, and he was evidently agitated—*Hope—Hope—I have much to say to him—but—cannot get it out—are Colonel Graham—and all my Aids-de-Camp well?* (here a private sign was made by Colonel Anderson not to inform him of Captain Burrard, son of Sir Harry, one of his Aids de Camp, who was wounded in the action, and died two days afterwards)—*I have made my will, and have remembered my servants—Colborne has my will and all my papers.*

"Major Colborne then came into the room. He asked the major, if the

Death of the gallant Moore.

having been withdrawn, the troops followed in the order prescribed, and marched to their respective points of embarkation, in the town and neighbourhood of Corunna. The picquets remained at their posts, until five in the morning of the 17th, when they were also withdrawn with similar orders; and without the enemy having discovered the movement.*

By

the French were beaten—*Its a great satisfaction for me to know we have beaten the French—Is Paget in the room—*On being informed that he was not—added—*I feel myself so strong—I fear I shall be long dying—*On being told that Captains Perry, and Stanhope, third son of the Earl, were in the room, he spoke to both—after some interval, said, “Stanhope, remember me to your sister!”—he then pressed Colonel Anderson’s hand close to his body, and in a few moments expired without a struggle!!!”

“From a sentiment of veneration,” adds his brother, “that has been felt in every age, the corpse of a man who has excited admiration cannot be neglected as common clay. This impression leads mankind sometimes to treat an inanimate body with peculiar respect; and even to bestow upon it unfelt honours. This was now the subject of deliberation among the military friends of Sir John Moore, who had survived the engagement, when Colonel Anderson informed them that he had often heard the general repeatedly declare, that if he was killed in battle, he wished to be buried where he had fallen. General Hope and Colonel Graham immediately acceded to his suggestion; and it was determined, that the body should be interred in the rampart of the citadel of Corunna.

“At twelve at night, his remains were accordingly carried to the spot, by Colonel Graham, Major Colborne, and his aid-de-camps, and deposited, until a grave was dug by a party of the 9th regiment. No coffin could be procured, and the body, which was not undressed, was wrapt up by his sorrowful friends, in a military cloak and blankets. Towards eight in the morning some firing was heard, when, lest a serious attack should be made, and prevent the last duties being performed, the officers of his family bore the body to the grave, the funeral service was read by the chaplain, and the gallant remains laid in its cold, and silent, yet honourable bed!”

* Of the officers who lost their lives in consequence of this unfortunate campaign, we must not omit Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Symes, of the 76th foot, who died on board the Mary transport, in his passage from Corunna, not so much from his wounds, as in consequence of extraordinary fatigue and exertion. He was one whose civil and military virtues, and accomplishments, were equally the objects of admi-

Embarkation of the army.

By the unremitted exertions of the navy, and in consequence of the judicious arrangements made by the officers directing the transport service, the whole were embarked with a degree of expedition which has seldom been equalled; and, with the exception of the brigades under Major-Generals Hill and Beresford, which were destined to remain on shore, until the movements of the enemy should become manifest, the whole was afloat before day-light. The brigade of Major-General Beresford, which was alternately to form the rear-guard, occupied the land front of the town of Corunna: that under Major-General Hill was stationed in reserve, in the promontory in rear of the town. The French pushed their light troops towards the town soon after eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th; and shortly after occupied the heights of St. Lucia, which command the harbour; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and the manifold defects of the place, there being no apprehension that the rear-guard would be forced, and the disposition of the Spaniards appearing to be good, the embarkation of Major-General Hill's brigade, was commenced and completed by three o'clock in the afternoon.

Major-General Beresford, with that zeal and activity so well known to be his, having fully explained, to the satisfaction of the Spanish Governor, the nature

admiration. He possessed the highest capacity for science, with the most shining talents for action; and was not less endowed with the amiable qualities which embellish private life. He was twice ambassador to the court of Ava, in India; and published an interesting account of his first embassy, which gained him distinguished reputation as a diplomatic and literary character. As a military man, he was not less eminent; and, as a husband, a parent, and a friend, he was affectionately beloved, and deeply lamented. The general impression for his loss was such, that when his body was brought home for interment, on its way from Portsmouth to Rochester, the funeral procession was joined by a long train both of relatives and friends; and the church and church-yard crowded with the officers and soldiers of Chatham Garrison.

ture of our movement, and, having made every previous arrangement, withdrew his corps from the land front of the town soon after dark, and was, with all the wounded that had not been previously moved, embarked before one in the morning.

General Hope, in his public dispatches, very justly observed, that circumstances forbade the indulgence of the hope that the victory (for such it undoubtedly was) with which it had pleased Providence to crown the efforts of the army, could be attended with any very brilliant consequences to Great Britain. Indeed, independent of its being followed so speedily, and also necessarily, by an embarkation, it was clouded by the loss of one of her best soldiers. It had been achieved at the termination of a long and harassing service. The superior numbers, and advantageous position, of the enemy, not less than the actual situation of the army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from it ; but still the gallant HOPE comforted himself with the reflection, that it must be grateful to an admiring country, that the lustre of the British arms had been maintained amidst such disadvantageous circumstances ; for the army which had entered Spain, amidst the fairest prospects, had no sooner completed its junction, than, owing to the multiplied disasters that dispersed the patriotic armies around, it was left to its own resources. Indeed the advance of the British corps from the Douro, afforded the best hope that the south of Spain might be relieved ; but this generous effort to save the unfortunate people also afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal resources, for the destruction of the only regular force in the north of Spain. The diligence with which this system had been pursued had produced the necessity of rapid and harassing marches, which had diminished the numbers, exhausted the strength, and impaired the equipment, of the British army ; notwithstanding all which disadvantages, and those

those more immediately attached to a defensive position, which the imperious necessity of covering the harbour of Corunna for a time had rendered indispensable to assume, yet the native and undaunted valor of British troops was never more conspicuous than on this occasion.

The returns of the British killed and wounded did not exceed from seven to eight hundred; that of the enemy, there is reason to believe, was nearly double.

Of the excellent qualities of the regretted Sir John Moore, we may say, in the words of the gallant narrator of this event, that his fall will long remain a subject of regret to every one who loves or respects his manly character; though it may be matter of some small alleviation, that after conducting the army through an arduous retreat, with consummate firmness, he thus terminated a career of distinguished honour, by a death that has given the enemy additional reason to respect the name of a British Soldier. Like the immortal Wolfe, he was snatched from his country, at an early period of a life spent in her service; like Wolfe, his last moments were gilded by the prospect of victory, and cheered by the shouts of his conquering companions; like Wolfe also, his memory will doubtless ever remain sacred in that country, which he sincerely loved, and which he had so faithfully served.

We may here add that Sir David Baird lost an arm in this business; that the ships of war received all such of the wounded as they could accommodate, and that the remainder were sent to the hospital, and other transports. The weather being tempestuous, the difficulties of embarkation were great: and the enemy having brought cannon to a hill overhanging the beach, before the embarkation of the rear guard was completed, a majority of the transports were forced to cut or slip; in consequence the embarkation being no longer practicable at the town, it was com-

Thanks in Parliament.

pleted at a sandy beach outside, when the whole were brought off and proceeded for England.*

We now proceed to investigate the occurrences connected with the subject of our biography, after his arrival in England; and the close of the proceedings on the Cintra convention.

On the 25th of January, the House of Commons having proceeded to confer thanks on the officers who survived the battle of Corunna, and to vote a monument in St. Paul's to the gallant Moore, Lord Castlereagh then called on the House, to confer the same honour of thanks on Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the conquerors of Vimiera. The noble lord, after expatiating upon the services of this distinguished officer, and the bravery of his followers, alluded to the superior numbers of the enemy engaged upon this occasion; and concluded with expressing his opinion, that the thanks of that House had never been called for by more transcendent merit. To this, Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment, for the purpose of introducing the name of Sir Harry Burrard; but, finding the sense of the House decidedly against him, withdrew his amendment; and the original notice was carried, with only *one* dissenting voice: to which were added, thanks to the various officers, as well as to the non-commissioned officers, and privates.

On a subsequent motion in Parliament, respecting the campaign in Portugal, Sir Arthur explained his
views,

* But the sufferings of the army were not completed on their embarkation; for on the passage home many valuable lives were lost on board the Dispatch transport; amongst whom were, the Honourable Major Cavendish, (second son of Lord George Cavendish, and nephew of the late Duke of Devonshire,) whose body was since found at Falmonth; Captain Duckenfield, eldest son of Sir Nathaniel; and Lieutenant the Honourable E. Waldegrave, second brother of the Earl. Besides those three officers, the Dispatch had on board seventy-two men, and thirty-six horses, all of the 7th Dragoons. Every soul on board perished, excepting seven Dragoons. Besides these there were other eight non-commissioned officers, sixty privates, four women, and thirty two horses, who also perished.

views, and motives of action, throughout the whole expedition; which were, to engage the enemy as near to Lisbon as possible, and to have followed up his advantage, exactly as he had proposed to Sir Harry Burrard and to Sir Hew Dalrymple: and he again added, that if the enemy had been vigorously followed, after the battle of Vimiera, there would have been no reason for concluding a convention.

Sir Arthur on his return had immediately resumed his parliamentary duties, as well as his official ones, in the exercise of the latter of which, on the 6th of February, he obtained leave to bring in two bills; one to enable the Bishops of Ireland and the Commander of the forces in that country to frank letters; and the other to amend and consolidate the various laws relating to the Irish militia.

After this Mr. Whitbread, at some length, made a promised motion respecting the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland being held by Sir Arthur during his military absence; and concluded by moving "that the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland is an effective office of the highest responsibility, which cannot be held by any person absent from the realm; and that the emoluments of that office ought not to be enjoyed by any person who is rendered unable by his situation to perform the duties thereof."

To this Sir Arthur Wellesley answered, that when first he was appointed to the Secretaryship, it was with the clear understanding that his acceptance of that situation should not preclude him from assuming any subsequent military command. Under this impression, he had gone to Zealand, and afterwards to Portugal; and in both cases, having found the office vacant on his return, he had resumed the functions of it.

But, in both cases, he had relinquished all claim to a continuance in it upon his quitting the country, so that he should have had no reason to complain, had he found it occupied by another. That it was not so,

was attributable to the noble Duke at the head of the government of Ireland, who had very kindly expressed his wish still to avail himself of his (Sir Arthur Wellesley's) services.

After some observations, Lord Castlereagh moved the previous question, to which Mr. Whitbread did not object,—as he said his only object was to prevent the present case from being established as a precedent, which he thought the discussion had done.

After this, Sir Arthur Wellesley's Parliamentary duties have been suspended ; but, before we proceed to further military details, it is proper to notice that his abilities in the Senate were fully commensurate to those in the field ; and it has been well said of him, particularly throughout his defence of his brother, that if he could not silence his adversaries, he always convinced his auditors ; whilst his mode of speaking, at once simple, perspicuous, and energetic, was united with so much real modesty and diffidence of manner, as to secure him no small share of the favour of the house, and a constant degree of flattering attention.

It was during the short lived administration of Lords Grey and Grenville that he had come into Parliament for an Irish Borough, but afterwards sat for Newport in Hants : and it was in the succeeding administration, that he was appointed to the Chief Secretaryship of the sister kingdom ; an office certainly incompatible with the active duties of that profession which he had chosen, and of which he had now proved himself to be one of the greatest ornaments : but then it must be remembered that he accepted it merely on condition of its not prejudicing his military views and pursuits ; and that he performed its duties sedulously, whilst at home, and with a degree of highly honourable perseverance, at the same time declining all salary during those short periods when absent from its duties.

A treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance, between his Britannic Majesty and his Catholic Majesty
5
Ferdinand

Ferdinand the seventh, was now arranged, by which Great Britain guaranteed the succession and possession of the Spanish Crown and Empire to Ferdinand himself, or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation shall acknowledge; whilst the Spanish government engaged never to cede to France any part of the territories or possessions of the Spanish monarchy in any part of the world; making common cause against France, and not to make peace with that power, except by common consent.

Our troops in the Peninsula had now for some time been commanded by Sir John Craddock; but the British government having determined on more active operations, it was thought proper to entrust the command to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who immediately prepared to supersede Sir John, that gallant officer's services being required in another part of the globe where they might be equally honourable to himself, and equally useful to his country.

On the 22d of April, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Lisbon from England, to resume the command of the united British and Portuguese armies. He was received with extreme joy by the inhabitants, and a splendid illumination took place. On the 21th he set out to join the army which had already proceeded on its march to Oporto.

On the 9th of May, Sir Arthur Wellesley intended that the army should march from Coimbra to dispossess the enemy of Oporto;* in fact the advanced guard
and

* Next to Lisbon, Oporto is assuredly the most considerable and wealthy place in Portugal. It is the chief place of a district, the seat of a Corregidor, or Provedor, and (being regarded as a garrison town) has also a military governor: it is a bishopric also.

Its population was then about 40,000; and it had four suburbs, seven parishes, and twelve monasteries. The remains of the ancient Moorish walls and gates may still be seen in many places; yet the town is at present, properly speaking, an open place, and without any other than a temporary defence. The mouth of the river is covered by a small fort,

Army crosses the Vouga.

and the cavalry had marched on the 7th, and the whole had halted on the 8th to afford time for Marshal Beresford with his corps to arrive upon the Douro. The infantry of the army was formed into three divisions for this expedition; of which, two consisting of the advanced guard, of the Hanoverian brigade, and the brigade of Guards, under Brigadier General Stuart, Lieutenant General Paget and Payne, &c. with a brigade of artillery, under Lieutenant General Sherbrooke, moved by the high road from Coimbra to Oporto; whilst one composed of Major General Hill's brigade and Brigadier General Cameron's with a brigade of six pounders, proceeded by the road from Coimbra to Aveiro.*

On the 10th, in the morning, before day light, the cavalry and advanced guard crossed the Vouga, with the intention to surprise and cut off four regiments of French cavalry, and a battalion of infantry and artillery, cantoned in *Albergaria Nova*, and the neighbouring villages, about eight miles from that river. In this affair, though not completely successful as far
as

fort, called San Joas de Foz, near which, on the coast, there is a small market town. Besides this work, to the northward there was a bastion on the very beach; and on the south side, opposite, was a redoubt called Santa Catharina, flanked, in its turn, for defence, by a few smaller batteries.

* The state of the country may be drawn from the following extract from an officer's Journal:

“ Hitherto nothing had struck me beyond the ordinary attendants of war; but at Albergeria Velha, the violent animosity which prevailed between the French and Portuguese appeared but too plainly in the treatment which the former had given this unfortunate village. Indeed the conduct of the enemy and the state of this place which they had just quitted was really painful to think upon. Every house had been broke open, and every piece of furniture destroyed, every cask of wine which they could discover had been staved, and the liquor wasted. All the fowls, pigs, and cattle, had been killed, and several limbs were yet lying in various quarters of the streets. Such were the barbarous and revengeful acts the French had been guilty of before they retreated. The Portuguese in return had wreaked their vindictive hatred on the dead Frenchmen, and so completely had they disfigured the inanimate bodies, that it was not easy to distinguish any one human feature.

Attack of advanced posts.

as regarded the complete surprise, yet the superiority of the British cavalry was evident throughout the day; some prisoners and cannon of the detachment were taken, and the British advanced guard took up the position of Oliveira.

On the same day Major General Hill, who had embarked at Aveiro in the evening of the 9th, arrived at Ovar, in the rear of the enemy's right, and the head of Lieutenant General Sherbrooke's division passed the Vouga, on the same evening.

On the 11th the advanced guard and cavalry continued to move on the high road towards Oporto, with Major General Hill's division in a parallel road, which leads from Oporto to Ovar. On the arrival of the advanced guard at Vendas Novas between Santo Redondo and Grijon, they fell in with the out posts of the enemy's advanced guards, consisting of about 4,000 infantry, and some squadrons of cavalry, strongly posted on the heights above Grijon, their front being covered by woods and broken ground; but the enemy's left flank was in a moment most judiciously turned by a movement well executed by Major General Murray, with Brigadier General Langberth's brigade of the Hanoverian Legion; whilst the 16th Portuguese regiment of Brigadier General Stuart's brigade attacked their right, and the riflemen of the 93d and the flank companies of the 29th, 43d, and 52d, of the same brigade under Major Way, attacked the infantry in the woods and village in their centre.

These attacks soon obliged the enemy to give way; and the Hon. Brigadier General Stuart immediately led two squadrons, of the 16th and 20th dragoons under the command of Major Blake, in pursuit of the enemy, destroyed many, and took many prisoners. This success, though on a small scale, had such an effect upon the French, that they crossed the Douro, and destroyed the bridge, on the night of the 11th; but Sir Arthur soon after collected as many boats as could be brought to the ferry immediately above the

Arrival on the Douro.

the towns of Oporto and Villa Nova, as it was important, with a view to the operations of Marshal Beresford that he should cross the Douro immediately. In furtherance of this operation, he also in the morning of the 12th sent Major General Murray, with a battalion of the Hanoverian Legion, a squadron of cavalry, and two six pounders, to endeavour to collect boats, and, if possible, to cross the river at Ovintas about four miles above Oporto.

The ground on the right bank of the river at the ferry immediately above Oporto, and where Sir Arthur intended to cross, was capable of being protected and commanded by the fire of cannon, placed on the height of the Sierra Convent at Villa Nova, and there appeared to be a good position for the British troops on the opposite side of the river, until they should be collected in sufficient numbers. The enemy took no notice of the collecting of the boats, nor indeed of the embarkation of the troops, until after the first battalions (the Buffs)* were landed, and had taken up their position under the command of Lieutenant General Paget on the opposite side of the river.

They then commanded an attack upon them, with a large body of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, under the command of Marshal Soult, which that corps most gallantly sustained till supported successively by the 48th and 66th regiments belonging to Major General Hill's brigade, and a Portuguese battalion, and afterwards by the first battalion of detachments belonging

* The gallant behaviour of the Buffs proved how well formed was the confidence Sir Arthur placed in them: as they crossed the Douro in the face of a most dreadful fire of cannon and musquetry, in which situation, necessarily unsupported by the rest of the army from the want of boats, they yet maintained their ground against the united efforts of the French army; and, though artillery, cavalry, and infantry, were successively brought against them, still they remained victorious and unbroken, until the guards and the British cavalry coming over put an end to this unequal contest.

belonging to Brigadier General Richard Stuart's brigade.*

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Lieutenant-

* An officer, who was present on this occasion, makes the following lively observations:

" Every thing considered, the passage of the Douro is certainly one of the most brilliant achievements on record. The troops had made a forced march of above 80 miles from Coimbra in three days and a half, and the whole of the artillery was got on, though some parts of the road were so excessively bad, that it seemed wonderful how the guns ever got through them. From the heat of the weather, and the great length of time which the stoppage of the artillery forced us to be on the different marches, the fatigues which the troops underwent was extreme. The current of the Douro is very rapid, the opposite banks high and steep, in possession of the enemy, and we were ignorant of his forces and defences. There was no means of crossing the river, except in such small Portuguese boats as the enthusiasm of the people brought to us, at their own peril, from the French side of the river; and the troops that first passed had to wait till these boats went backwards and forwards, and successively brought over the remainder. Notwithstanding such difficulties, Sir Arthur Wellesley did not delay one moment in crossing the river. The animation and bravery of the troops seconded his activity and presence of mind; the enemy's batteries were soon taken, himself defeated at all points, a vast number of prisoners made; and, when the pursuit was ordered to cease, one sentiment of regret pervaded all. The bridge over the Douro being destroyed, there was no means of getting over the artillery, and only about sixty of the dragoons had already crossed. Under these circumstances, Sir Arthur Wellesley durst not in prudence pursue, though we have since learned from some English officers who were with the French army, and afterwards made their escape, that the confusion was so great, and the troops so entangled with baggage, &c. that the greatest part of them must have been taken prisoners, if we had continued the pursuit.

" The country was so hostile to the French, that they could not get any information of our movements: the advance from Coimbra was therefore unexpected; and it was so very rapid, that they were completely taken by surprise.

" Seven hundred sick were by this means left in the hospital. Marshal Soult's dinner was preparing, and was actually eaten by Sir Arthur Wellesley. Some of the captured generals were taken in the streets of Oporto. Many men were killed in the streets by the 29th regiment, and General Laborde's baggage was taken just beyond the entrance of the city.

" The scene was altogether most beautiful, and perfectly unique. The day was very fine; and, the tide being in, the river was quite full.

" Immediately

Defeat of Marshal Soult.

Lieutenant-General Paget was unfortunately wounded soon after the attack commenced, when the command of these gallant troops devolved upon Major-General Hill: and although the French made repeated attacks upon them, they made no impression; and at length Major-General Murray, (by the masterly movement of the morning,) having appeared on the left flank of the French, on his march from Ovintra where he had crossed, and Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke, (who by this time had availed himself of the enemy's weakness in the town of Oporto, and had crossed the Douro at the Ferry, between the towns of Villa Nova and Oporto,) having appeared upon the right with the brigade of guards, and the 29th regiment, the whole of the enemy's force retired in the utmost confusion towards Amarantha, leaving behind them five pieces of cannon, eight ammunition tumbrils, and many prisoners: their loss amounted to a considerable number, and they left 700 sick and wounded behind them in the hospitals at Oporto.

The exertions of the army in this affair were highly deserving of praise. In four days they had marched over eighty miles of most difficult country, had gained many important positions, and had actually engaged and defeated three different bodies of the enemy's troops.

“Immediately opposite to Oporto is the town of Villa Nova, where we embarked to cross the river. Here on the beach was raised an immense standard of white cloth, on which the sign of the cross was embroidered; the opposite walls of Oporto were lined with people waving white handkerchiefs to us, expressing, by their signs and gestures, their extreme anxiety for our passing the river; the Portuguese rowed their own boats, and the animation these poor fishermen displayed, and their exertions to get us quickly over, were very striking. The houses, as we passed through the streets, were principally shut, for fear of being pillaged by the French in their retreat; but the balconies were full of people, chiefly women, and from one end of the shore to the other there was a continued line of white handkerchiefs waved to us from the balconies.”

Oporto liberated.

troops.* Oporto now became the reward of the captors.

Sir Arthur, immediately on entering Oporto, very prudently and humanely issued a proclamation, in which he required from the inhabitants that they should comport themselves with compassion and humanity towards the French prisoners, who by the laws of war were entitled to his protection. He shewed them that it would be inconsistent with the generosity and humanity of the Portuguese nation to revenge upon those unfortunate individuals the outrages and calamities which it had suffered; and he, therefore, directed all the inhabitants to remain tranquil in the town, and to forbear appearing in the streets with arms.

The effects of this judicious proceeding were to produce an immediate tranquillity; and most certainly to save a great effusion of blood, as otherwise every French prisoner would have been massacred by the long outraged and very justly incensed inhabitants.

The sufferings of Oporto, previous to this, had been great in the extreme: for Soult on his first entering it had given up the city to his troops to plunder for three days; vast numbers of the inhabitants were violated and murdered during that period with impunity; the soldiers only being restricted from murdering children under ten years of age. However improbable this may appear, it is a fact that the British government became possessed of numerous facts upon this head, and that it was at one time in contemplation to give an authenticated account of them to the world, as a striking example of *French fraternity*.

2 N 2

When

* Lieutenant-General Paget's wound was much regretted by the gallant Commander in Chief, not only as that of a friend, but as one who had been most useful to the service in the few days he had been with the army. He had, indeed, rendered a most important service at the time he received it, in taking up the position which the troops so steadily maintained until finally successful.

When Sir Arthur Wellesley first determined upon the expedition to the north of Portugal, against Marshal Soult,* he had sanguine hopes that the Portuguese

* Marshal Soult is now upwards of fifty years of age; he is described to be strong and active, but a libertine and avaricious. In fact, glory is but his third passion, coming in after money and women, so that when he first heard of his appointment some years ago to the then *Army of England*, he said, in the presence of an Englishman then in France, "Now I am going to recruit my seraglio and to fill my coffers, by putting into requisition English misses and English guineas." In short, Citizen Soult was at that time a *terrorist*, and had been a private in the French 23d regiment, previous to the Revolution. He was first promoted to the rank of Captain in the National Guards, by Robespierre, in 1792; and, being sent to serve under General Custine on the Rhine in the campaign of 1793, was wounded at Mayence; but was soon after raised by Robespierre to the rank of major of brigade.

On the fall of Robespierre he thought himself lucky in being only dismissed the service; but was soon after restored to his rank by Carnot in 1796, after which he served in the army of the Rhine, and was with General Moreau in the famous retreat through the Black Forest. In 1798 the friendship of Hoche procured for him a nomination as general of brigade in the army of the Sambre and Meuse, where he was noticed, more for the absurdity of his Jacobin principles than for his military talents.

Whilst serving in the south, in 1800, he was appointed by Buonaparte as Lieutenant-General in Massena's army, and he certainly displayed much courage at the siege of Genoa; but like many others of these revolutionary heroes, or rather ruffians, his laurels were too often stained with blood; and if he was able only to fill one pocket with the spoils of his enemies, he was said to be an adept at filling the other from the stores of his friends.

Notwithstanding the infamy of his character, his bravery and his peculiar species of intelligence rendered him useful to the prime movers of the Revolution; but having displayed much activity as a notorious revolutionary intriguer, it is said that both Moreau and Massena have described him as more fit to make motions in a club, to bow in an antichamber of a revolutionary committee, or of a republican tyrant, than to head an army. It is evident, indeed, that Buonaparte had a better opinion of him, from his having appointed him Commander in Chief of the Army of England assembled some years ago at St. Omers. He was suspected, however, of having aimed at the Consular chair, and of many other acts of ambition equally absurd and extravagant; but it was considered that he took sufficient care to conceal these predilections from the crafty Corsican, who would doubtless have nipped the ambition of this aspiring *sans culotte*.

guese General Silveira, would be able to hold his post upon the Tamaga, till he should be reinforced; by means of which position, and by the possession of Chaves, the enemy's retreat would have been cut off, excepting across the Minho river; but even that he had hoped to render impracticable by pressing hard upon his rear. This well concerted plan was, however, deranged by the French having got possession of the bridge of Amarantha, where Silveira was posted; particularly as Sir Arthur had no real ground to hope that Marshal Beresford, who was then marching towards Lamego, would be able to effect more than to confine the enemy on that side, and oblige him to retire by Chaves into Gallicia, rather than by Villa Real into Castile.

Yet the gallant Beresford effected more than was supposed possible; and, after having driven in the enemy's posts at Villa Real and Maisan Frien with some loss, actually forced General Loison's outposts at the bridge of Amarantha, and again acquired possession of the left bank of the Tamaga, on the very day that the Commander in Chief had so gallantly passed the Douro. In fact, no sooner had the intelligence of this brilliant coup de main reached Loison than he judged it prudent to retire immediately from Amarantha, and to join the advanced guard of the French army, when General Beresford instantly occupied his evacuated post.

On the morning of the 13th Sir Arthur Wellesley led his army from Oporto in pursuit of the retreating enemy, and in the evening he received information that they had destroyed a great proportion of their artillery in the neighbourhood of Pennafiel, and had directed their march towards Braga; a measure to which he was evidently driven in consequence of Marshal Beresford's co-operation on the Tamaga.

Sir Arthur, on having these facts well ascertained, immediately proceeded on the morning of the 14th with the army in two columns towards the Minho ri-

ver, directing the Marshal to march upon Chaves in case the enemy should turn to his right, whilst Major-General Murray with the Hanoverian legion was to communicate with the Marshal, if, as then reported, Loison should remain in the vicinity of Amarantha.

In unison with these general orders the pursuit was continued until the 15th, when Sir Arthur with the main body arrived at Braga, and on the following day at Salamonde; and this with such rapidity that the guards under Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke and Brigadier-General Campbell, then in advance of the British army, had an affair with the enemy's rear guard, at a late hour in the evening. In this business the British attacked them in position, and having turned their flanks by the heights, the enemy immediately retreated, leaving a gun and some prisoners behind them.*

On

* The sufferings of the French army at this time were dreadful, as appears by the journal of an officer on the spot:

“The road as we went along was strewed with wrecks of their army, dead horses, musquets, ammunition, knapsacks, bodies of French soldiers murdered and stripped by the peasants, and now and then a solitary soldier lying on the road side, and dying from fever, want, and fatigue.

“The scene at the bridge over the Cabado, was most striking and affecting. The bridge is very narrow, and the confusion had been so great, that the cavalry, in passing, had trampled down the infantry. Vast numbers of men and horses had been precipitated over the battlements. The bed of the torrent was covered with drowned horses, or such as had been lamed in their fall; the banks were strewed with baggage of every description—arms, knapsacks, dead horses, dead bodies, &c. and if to this assemblage of sad and melancholy desolation, you add the effects of the surrounding scenery, immense mountains, a furious and rapid torrent forcing its way among piles of rocks, and continually augmented by long cascades from the mountains, you may form some opinion of the sort of feelings which such a view must inspire.

“The quantity of plunder collected in Oporto by the French must have been enormous; there is hardly a species of property, but what we found in the knapsacks that were thrown away; plate of every description, jewellery, quantities of money, womens' ornaments, cloaths of all

On the 17th and 18th, the pursuit continued, and on the latter day the British army arrived at Monte Alegre, when Sir Arthur found that Soult had taken a road through the mountains towards Orenza, by which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to overtake him, and on which he had no means of stopping him.

That the enemy had a great superiority over the British in the *celerity* of his movements upon this occasion, is evident; but that is not surprising when we consider that he commenced his retreat by destroying so large a quantity of his guns and ammunition. In fact, he afterwards destroyed the remainder, and a great part of his baggage, and kept nothing except what the troops or a few mules could carry.

He also left behind him his sick and wounded, and the road from Penafiel to Monte Alegre was strewed with the carcasses of horses and mules, and French soldiers who were put to death by the peasantry before the British advanced guard could save them.* During this retreat the British picked up about 500 prisoners; but the enemy, upon the whole, lost not less than one-fourth of their whole number. That it got away at last was considered as matter of regret; but Sir Arthur very judiciously observed, that if an army throws away all its cannon, equipments, and baggage, and every thing which can strengthen it, and can enable it to act together as a body, and abandons

all sorts. A man of the 83d regiment got a bar of solid gold; another found one of silver."

* The Commander in Chief observed, in his dispatches, that this was the natural effect of the species of warfare which the enemy had carried on in Portugal. The French soldiers, he added, had plundered and murdered the peasantry at their pleasure, and he had seen many persons hanging on the trees by the sides of the road, executed for no reason that he could learn, excepting that they were not friendly to the French invasion and usurpation of the government of their country. He also said that the route of their column on the retreat could be traced by the smoke of the villages to which they set fire!

done all those who are entitled to its protection, but retard its progress, it must then be able to march by roads through which it cannot be followed with any prospect of being overtaken by an army which has not made the same sacrifices.

In this brisk pursuit too we must not omit that, notwithstanding all the care of the general, the British troops suffered considerably from the state of the weather; the rain having been constant for nearly a week, and the roads in that difficult country almost impracticable; yet they persevered with spirit in the pursuit to the very last, having been generally on their march from day light in the morning until dark. The brigade of guards were at the head of the column through the whole business, and, as Sir Arthur observed, set a most laudable example to the whole army, and conducted themselves remarkably well in the affair with the enemy's rear guard at Salamonde.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, (after the complete expulsion of Soult from Portugal,) marched his army southward from the Minho to Abrantes, where he collected stores and provisions to enable him to march into Spain to join General Cuesta, who had assembled about 40,000 men round Monude. On forming a junction, it was proposed to attack Victor's and Sebastiani's corps, these being united and occupying an entrenched position near Truxillo, about 70 miles from the Portuguese frontiers.* In the mean time the war in Spain was carried on with various success. The army of General Blake had resumed offensive operations, and had formed a junction with the armies of Murcia and Valencia. A division of his army had, however, been surprised near Saragossa by a French corps under General Suchet, and obliged to retire with considerable loss.

Blake

* At this period, (3d July.) General Craufurd had arrived at Lisbon with a reinforcement of 3000 men from Ireland, and had proceeded to Abrantes.

Blake then advanced to Tortosa with the intention of attacking General St. Cyr's corps ; and at Alcantara a most gallant action was fought between 2,000 Spaniards, commanded by Colonels Mayne and Grant, British officers, and a body of French consisting of 10,000 men, in which the latter lost upwards of 1200, and the small body of brave Spaniards were enabled to retreat with only a small comparative loss. In this the enemy also had 1500 cavalry and 12 field pieces ; but the Spaniards fought with such fury, and such indescribable gallantry, that they maintained the pass until sunset in spite of a most dreadful and galling fire from the whole of the enemy's line.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, on his return from the pursuit of Soult, was obliged to remain long inactive in the vicinity of Lisbon, not by any means from his own disposition, which was full of activity and ardour in the cause, and forward and adventurous in quest of personal reputation. He was, indeed, anxious to strike some decisive blow ; but before this could be attempted, it was necessary that some plan of co-operation should be concerted between him and the Spanish generals, particularly Cuesta. He was also extremely anxious that Cuesta should not attempt any movement of importance without the English army, and at length obtained his promise that he would suspend his operations until the British army had reached the Tagus.

In his subsequent arrangements he found many obstacles with respect to the management of the Spanish Generals and Juntas, and in urging them to call forth all the energies and means of their country, particularly with Cuesta, who was a friend to a kind of harassing warfare, and not very willing to run the risk of any great or decisive battle. At length, however, a plan of operations was concerted between the British and Spanish generals, and both began their march towards Madrid.

One of the most important and splendid victories in the Peninsula was now approaching; it is necessary, therefore, to examine the previous military transactions with some degree of precision, in order to investigate and understand its real merits.

Early in July, Joseph Buonaparte joined Sebastiani with those troops which he brought from Madrid, and with a detachment from Marshal Victor's corps, making the force under Sebastiani about 28,000 men, and their intention was to attack the Spanish corps under General Vanegas; but that officer retired into the mountains of the Sierra Morena; and, though forced to retreat, was still able to attack and destroy a considerable part of the enemy's advanced guard.

The French troops then returned to the Tagus; and the whole army then under Victor, and amounting to about 35,000, were concentrated in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and on the Alberché.

General Cuesta's Spanish force was now in the vicinity at Almaraz, and the advanced guard of the British army arrived at Placentia on the 8th of July, the whole of the troops being finally collected about the 16th.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, with his usual precision, now proceeded to Cuesta's head-quarters; and having stopped with him two days, arranged a plan of operations upon the French army, which were to commence about the 18th, if they should remain so long in their position as to allow the whole British force to come up. At this period the Spanish army amounted to about 38,000 men, (exclusive of the force under Vanegas,) of which about 7,000 were cavalry, 14,000 of this force were detached to the bridge of Arzobispo, and the remainder were encamped under the Puerte de Mirabete.

According to these arrangements the British army
broke

Military anecdotes.

broke up from Placentia* on the 17th, and reached Oropesa on the 20th, where a junction was formed with

- 11 -

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* "On the 6th of July we entered the city of Placentia, the capital of Estramadura; the inhabitants welcomed our entrance, by waving their handkerchiefs, loud huzzas, and other demonstrations of joy. Placentia is a large but not a handsome town, has old Moorish walls, and is situated on the river Xerto over which it has two bridges; some of the houses are extremely large, though I think none particularly handsome. In one private mansion, we had accommodation (that is to say, room, for the furniture and inhabitants were gone,) for 2000 men, besides stabling for most of our horses. In this neighbourhood most of the mountains are tipped with snow, which is brought to the town in considerable quantities, for the purposes of cooling creams, lemonade, &c. Placentia is also famous for its manufacture of chocolate; and has, besides, a number of respectable shops, though their tenants were at first afraid of opening them to us; their recent visitors, the French, not being accustomed to trouble themselves with accounts. A most seasonable supply of shoes was also procured here for the soldiers; many of whom had been totally barefooted and woefully foot-sore for several preceding days."

Journal of an Officer.

"On the 9th we left Placentia, and halted in a valley about three miles off; this situation was both beautiful and beneficial, a delightful stream of crystal water in our front, and in our rear the snow clad mountains I have spoken of. On the evening of the 10th, we received an unexpected route; and, returning through Placentia, marched two leagues to Malapartida, a village containing about 400 inhabitants, and nearly the same number of miserable hovels: a good church, containing, amongst other figures, one of our Saviour supported in the Virgin's arms, and decorated with a laced cocked hat, and a full dress velvet suit. In the centre of the church was an open sepulchre, with human bones exposed to view. Here the French had pillaged to excess, and the consequent misery of the inhabitants may be conceived, but cannot be described. I know nothing of philosophy; but, in spite of my partiality to the army and zeal in the service, common sense and unavoidable observation will sometimes obtrude reflections by no means favourable to war, or its promoters; and when I have heard the people of this country and of Portugal censured, or, in more unceremonious language, "damned," for not furnishing all the supplies we require, I have caught myself asking the question, what is it to the cottager, or the farmer? what to the half-starved inhabitant, by whom his misery is occasioned? Whether by friend or foe, his crops and his cattle are alike consumed— "Where'er we move in anger, desolation tracks our progress: where'er we pause in amity, affliction mourns our friendship." The seat of war is unavoidably the seat of woe; and though the English, in general, pay honestly for what they are obliged to take, what recompense is this to

a man

Advance towards Talavera.

with the Spanish force. Previous to this, Sir Robert Wilson had marched from his positions, and arrived on the Alberché on the 23d, with the Lusitanian legion, and a small Spanish and Portuguese force; whilst Vanegas, having broke up from Madrilejos, was able to cross the Tagus by a ford at Puente Duenes, and to arrive at Argand about the same time.

The combined armies moved from Oropesa on the 22d, and the advanced guards attacked the enemy's outposts at Talavera, when their right was turned by the 1st hussars and the 23d light dragoons under General Anson, directed by Lieutenant General Payne, and by the division of infantry under Major General Mackenzie, and they were driven in by the Spanish advanced guards under the command of General Sargas, and the Duc d'Albuquerque.

The united armies now approaching the enemy rapidly, the columns were formed for the attack of the position of Talavera de la Reyna on the 24th of July; but the attack being postponed until the morning of the 25th by desire of General Cuesta, the columns were again put in motion, and the different corps advanced, when it was discovered that the bird had flown, and that the enemy had actually retired about one in the morning to Santa Olalla, and thence towards Torrigos, evidently with the intention of forming a junction with Sebastiani.

At this period Sir Arthur Wellesley found his operations much crippled, and his advance after a retreating army much retarded, on account of the great deficiency

a man who is obliged to abandon the place he has cultivated, and the necessaries of life, which not even money can procure. In the present case, however, we must derive what comfort we can from the reflection, that, compared to the French, we constitute the lesser evil, and that our cause under Heaven is just.

"In that cause I think we shall for the present succeed: but whether the Spaniards will retain what we may aid them to acquire, whether in fact they are that loyal, brave, virtuous, and chivalrous people, which they are generally accounted, I do most seriously doubt."

Journal of an Officer.

Concentration of the French.

iciency of means of transport in Spain. General Cuesta had indeed urged the Central Junta to adopt vigorous measures in order to relieve the general wants. But these means were not taken with sufficient resolution, and Sir Arthur was forced to come to the determination of not moving from Talavera until he was supplied; as, in fact, he was no longer able to continue his operations without this relief.

General Cuesta, however, followed the enemy's line of march with his army from the Alberché on the morning of the 24th, as far as Santa Olalla, and pushed forward his advanced guard as far as Torrijos: and, at the same time, Sir Arthur, but without breaking up his main body, detached two divisions of infantry, and a brigade of cavalry, across the Alberché, to Casalegos, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke, with a view to keep up the communication between him and the Spanish army, and with Sir Robert Wilson's force at Escalona. It happened unfortunately at this junction that General Vanegas had not carried into execution that part of the preconcerted plan of operations which related to his corps, so that he was still at Daniel, in La Mancha, by which means the French, by the 26th, had been enabled quietly to collect all their detachments in that part of Spain, between Torrijos, and Toledo, in which latter place they only left a garrison of 2000 men.

The French united army now consisted of the corps of Marshal Victor, of that of General Sebastiani, and of seven or eight thousand men of Joseph Buonaparte's guards, and the garrison of Madrid; a most splendid, and apparently overbearing, concentration of force; the whole commanded by Joseph himself, aided by Marshals Jourdan and Victor, and General Sebastiani.*

Flushed

* Victor, like most of the French generals, entered into the army as a private, and at the age of fifteen, previous to the revolution, was in the

Flushed with their numbers, the French now adopted a plan of attack instead of retreat ;* and on the 26th,

the artillery. But his progress was rapid ; for, devoting his leisure hours to fencing, he became noticed by his officers, and at the commencement of the great political change was adjutant sub-officer. In 1792, he was chief of battalion, and adjutant-general at Toulon, when he carried several redoubts remarkably well defended, and there acquired the notice of Buonaparte. His military skill, or rather enterprise, may be judged from the following anecdote, when he decided the victory in favour of the French at the battle of La Favorite in Italy, by a strong but well conceived manœuvre ; for, having placed a demi-brigade in reserve, he ordered the first line of his infantry to keep up a vigorous running fire ; and when he observed that the fire of the Austrians had slackened, he passed the lines, and ordered the reserve to advance with loud cries, brandishing the butt ends of their muskets, as if to knock them on the head ; on which the Austrians, terrified at their apparent intrepidity, threw down their arms and surrendered. At Rome, Marshal Victor shewed his great regard for the church, by laying hold of whatever was valuable ; indeed his whole life has been a scene of fighting and plunder.

Jourdan began his military career as a private, and at the commencement of the revolution was a fencing master, while his wife followed the convenient profession of a milliner. Having received a commission in the National guards, he soon rose to the rank of general, and commanded the Republican army at the battle of Maubeuge in 1793, when both he and his antagonist, the Prince de Cobourg, thought themselves beat, and both retreated at the same time.

Jourdan, however, had sense enough to return, and to recover forty pieces of cannon which he had lost in a wood.

He has the character of having been oftener defeated than any of Buonaparte's generals.

* " One English officer of engineers, whilst employed in reconnoitring, was observed by a Frenchman, who immediately applied his hand to his hat, and made a respectful bow ; two Spanish officers just afterwards came in sight, when the same hand was instantaneously and contemptuously applied to his most ignoble part.

" Continuing our route beyond the village of Cassalegos, we found the bodies of two Spanish peasants who had not long been dead : one of them was shot through the heart ; the other had been burned to death, and lay with his arms lifted up, his fists clenched, and his face distorted in all the expressions of horror, which the poor wretch, in the agonies of such a death, must necessarily have exhibited.

" On this day a French captain of cavalry, and three or four private men, were taken prisoners by our light dragoons ; and we afterwards learned that the two Spaniards had been killed by the French, in consequence of having been met with arms in their hands."

Journal of an Officer.

26th, Cuesta's army was attacked upon his advanced posts near Torrijos, from whence he was obliged to fall back, retiring upon the left bank of the Alberché, General Sherbrooke still continued at Casalegos, and the enemy at Santa Olalla.

Sir Arthur was now convinced that the French intended to try the result of a general action; for which the best position appearing to be in the vicinity of Talavera, he prevailed on Cuesta to take up this position on the morning of the 27th, and immediately ordered General Sherbrooke to retire with his corps to its station in the line, leaving General Mackenzie with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post, in the wood on the right of Alberché, which covered our left flank.

The position now taken up by the troops extended rather more than two miles; the ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by an height on which was, en echelon, and in second line, a division of infantry under the orders of Major-General Hill. Between this height and a range of mountains still further upon the left, there was a valley, not at first occupied, as it was commanded by the height itself; and the range of mountains appeared too distant to have any influence upon the expected action.

The Spanish troops* formed the right of the whole, and they extended immediately in front of the town of Talavera,

* "On the 21st we passed the town of Oropesa, which appears to have been a place of considerable note, though now totally deserted, and certainly contains many spacious and handsome edifices, both public and private. On the 24th, we were treated with a sight of the Spanish army, who marched through, headed by Cuesta, and a respectable looking priest: they comprised a very large force, both of cavalry and infantry, and were dressed in every colour the rainbow itself can boast, forming en masse a most irregular set, not to be compared, even in appearance, to our rawest volunteers, but amounting, it was said, to between forty and fifty thousand men. They moved on to take a station in our front; it being their general's desire, that the Spaniards should stand foremost in the Spanish cause."

Talavera, down to the Tagns. This part of the ground was covered by olive-trees, and much intersected by ditches. The high road, leading from the bridge over the Alberché, was defended by a heavy battery, in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues to the town were defended in a similar manner; the town was occupied, and the remainder of the Spanish infantry was formed in two lines behind the banks, in the roads which led from the town, and the right to the left of the British force.

In the centre, between the two armies, there was a commanding spot of ground, on which the combined allies had begun to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in its rear: and at this spot Brigadier-General Alexander Campbell was posted with a division of infantry, supported by General Cotton's brigade of dragoons, and some Spanish cavalry in his rear.

Such was the disposition of the British and Spanish armies, as directed by the gallant Wellesley, with all the military talent of a Scipio or a Hannibal, and detailed by himself with all the elegant precision of a Polybius.*

The operations now commenced, and about two o'clock on the 27th the enemy appeared in strength on the left bank of the Alberché, and manifested an intention to attack General Mackenzie's division. It was not the intention of Sir Arthur that the business should commence on this spot; but the French with great

* "We afterwards passed the river Alberca over a very fine bridge of eight arches. It was fordable, and intersected by an infinity of small sands. In the afternoon the scenery assumed a new character; we saw a great quantity of cork trees, and, in the distance, mountains covered with snow. At length we arrived at Talaveyra de la Reyna, a town surrounded by a very rich country, and beautiful avenues of trees. The smiling interior of the country shews that it anciently enjoyed a degree of affluence which it still retains. From Talavera we turned to the left, and rode almost the whole day among paths that meandered among orchards and delightful flowery meadows." *Journal of an Officer.*

great rapidity, had made it before the troops could be withdrawn. However, the whole of this detachment of the British force, consisting of General Mackenzie's and Colonel Donkin's brigades, and General Anson's brigade of cavalry, and supported by General Payne, with the other four regiments of cavalry, in the plain between Talavera and the wood, were all withdrawn in good order, but with some loss, particularly by the 2d battalion of the 87th, and the 2d battalion of the 31st in the wood.

The conduct of General Mackenzie upon this occasion, and the military and officer-like style in which he withdrew his advanced guard, was much praised by the Commander-in-Chief, whilst the steadiness and discipline of the 45th regiment, and of the 5th battalion of the 60th, were most conspicuous.*

13.

2 P

As

* Major-General Ronald M^c Kenzie, who fell so gloriously in this battle, was the representative of a very ancient Highland family, whose patrimonial estate (Suddie) lies in that part of Rosshire, called the Black Isle. He began his military career in the marines, under the immediate eye of his uncle, General M^c Kenzie, of that corps, and for some time previous to 1794 did the duty of Adjutant to the Chatham division. Upon the death of his uncle, by which he succeeded to some personal fortune, he relinquished the marine service, perhaps from an ambition to get forward in his profession more rapidly than that service admits of; and in the spring of 1794 he became Major of the 2d battalion of the 78th foot, raised by the present Lord Seeporth. In the latter end of that year, or early in 1795, both battalions of the 78th were consolidated; by which measure this gallant officer, along with his officers and men, joined the first battalion, at the Cape, when they proceeded to India, 1200 strong, where the regiment served with distinction under Lieutenant-General (then Colonel) Mackenzie Fraser. He returned to Europe in 1801, sincerely regretted on his absence by his regiment, and all who knew him; and being promoted to the rank of Colonel soon after his arrival in England, he was placed on the northern staff as a Brigadier. After this he was made governor and commandant of Alderney, and soon replaced on the northern staff as Major-General, which situation he held when, on his own solicitation, he was removed to the command of a brigade in Portugal in 1808. He was in Parliament four years for the Sutherland boroughs, and afterwards for the county. He was a zealous, steady, cool, soldier; a mild and most friendly man. The service lost in him a most excellent officer—his friends, an estimable and amiable

Movements before the battle.

As the day advanced, the enemy appeared in greater numbers on the right bank of the Alberché; and the General saw clearly that he was now advancing to a general attack, whilst General Mackenzie continued to fall back gradually upon the left of the British position, where he took his station in the second line, in rear of the guards, Colonel Donkin being placed in the same situation, further upon the left, in the rear of the German legion. It was now the dusk of the evening, and the enemy immediately commenced his attack by a cannonade upon the British position, and by an attempt with his cavalry to overthrow the Spanish infantry on the right; but this general attempt, on both ends of the line, failed entirely. He, however, early in the night, pushed a division along the valley on the left of the height occupied by General Hill, of which he obtained a momentary possession; but General Hill attacked it instantly with the bayonet, and carried it. This attack was repeated during the night, but failed; and again at day-light in the morning of the 28th by two divisions of infantry, but was a third time repulsed by the gallant Hill. In all these affairs, the conduct, both of officers and men, was most meritorious, and many lives were lost, General Hill himself being slightly wounded.

The enemy now determined to carry every thing by a general coup-de-main, and accordingly made an attack along the whole line of the British, with the whole of his force. Previous to this, however, in consequence of the repeated attempts upon the height on the left, by the valley, Sir Arthur Wellesley had placed two brigades of British cavalry in that valley, supported in the rear by the Duc d'Albuquerque's division of Spanish cavalry. The enemy then placed
light

amiable companion. The 78th adored him, and will long lament him. Dying without issue, his estate of Suddie went to an only sister, married to Captain Potts of the 42d, with a large family.



 Battle of Talavera.

light infantry in the range of mountains on the left of the valley which were opposed by a division of Spanish infantry under Lieutenant General de Bassecourt.

The general attack now commenced by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley with a view to attack the height occupied by General Hill; but these columns were immediately charged by the 1st German light dragoons and 23d dragoons under the command of General Anson, directed by Lieutenant General Payne, and supported by General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry; and although the 23d dragoons suffered considerable loss, the charge had the effect of preventing the execution of that part of the enemy's plan.

Whilst this general attack was made upon the left, with what he hoped would be a preponderant force, another took place upon Brigadier General Alexander Campbell's position in the centre of the combined armies, and on the right of the British; but this attack was in like manner most successfully repulsed by General Campbell supported by the king's regiment of Spanish cavalry, and two battalions of Spanish infantry; and that with such effect that the enemy left their artillery behind them. The whole of this part of the business was conducted in high style, and much to the satisfaction of Sir Arthur himself, who appears to have been in the midst of this as well as of the other attacks.*

2 P 2

Whilst

* On the 23d, we this night occupied, in advance of the army, some comfortable huts which had been erected by the French, but were under arms at two o'clock in the morning, and continued so till seven, when all appeared quiet, and our parades were dismissed; scarcely, however, were our firelocks filed, etc notice was given that the enemy approached. General M^r Kenzie ordered us to advance, and we were on our march when an order for a retreat arrived—we continued retreating and fighting, till we came upon the remainder of our army, in the plains opposite to the town of Talavera; this was about nine at night, by which time we were greatly fatigued, and were consequently
marched

Whilst these operations were thus going on, the enemy made another attack upon Lieutenant General

marched to the rear, where we formed a second line to our fresher troops; the enemy pushing on all this time with astonishing celerity, and keeping up a tremendous fire from their numerous artillery. About ten, they made a most daring attack upon the left of our line, but were nobly repulsed by the 3d and 29th regiments. After this there was not much done till day-light in the morning of the 28th, when the artillery from each army opened with a rapid and destructive fire. The French again made an attempt upon our left, and were again repulsed. At length the action became general; but to describe it is impossible; we charged, and were repulsed, and charged again; suffice it to say, that at night the French began to retreat, and the victory was consequently ours—it was, indeed,—

“ ————— A battle hardly fought,
A victory for which the conquerors mourn’d,
So many fell.”

The French are said to have had five and forty thousand men in this action, with King Joseph in person. Victor, however, had the command, and was seconded by Sebastiani. Our loss is estimated, and that pretty accurately, at five thousand men, killed and wounded; that of the French, by their own confession, exceeds double the number. In one division, and with our brigade, we lost the gallant General M^r Kenzie, and a very large proportion of officers; the plains were covered with wounded and dead; whilst, horrible to relate, the stubble caught fire, and many disabled wretches were burnt to death. Of this action the Spaniards were quiet spectators. On the following morning, the French army having totally disappeared, we applied ourselves, to searching out, and carrying off, the wounded. But such scenes as the field and town presented, on this and the two succeeding days, exceeds human credibility, as much as it overpowered the most unfeeling amongst us. The God of mercy grant, “I ne’er may look upon the like again.”

The enemy plundered such of our officers as they laid hold of of their watches, epaulets, and money; but, in other respects, they observed the dictates of humanity; to some they administered wine, to others water, and placed others out of the battle’s heat.

To one friend of mine, they offered a service, which I believe few of us, in any situation, however miserable, would willingly accept. Seeing him severely wounded, and covered with blood, they asked him if they should terminate his sufferings?

This favour he declined, and is now doing well. My poor friend E—indeed complained, that to him they behaved otherwise, having kicked and pushed him in an unfeeling manner; yet he spoke not of them with rancour; but, having lingered for two days, he died the death of a Hero, with the resignation of a Christian.—

One orderly book of Victor’s is said to have been found in Talavera,

Attack on the left.

ral Sherbrooke's division, which was on the left and centre of the first line of the British army. This was perhaps as gallant a part of the business as took place on that day; for the attack was most spiritedly repulsed by a charge of bayonets by the whole division, in which, however, our troops suffered much from the impetuosity of their gallantry: for the brigade of guards, which were on the right, having advanced too far, they were exposed on their left flank to the fire of the enemy's battery, and of their retreating columns; and the division was obliged to retire towards the original position, under cover of the 2d line of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, which had been moved from the centre, and of the 1st battalion of the 48th, which had been most judiciously moved by the Commander-in-Chief, from its original position on the heights, as soon as he observed the advance of the guards, and it was formed in the plain, and advanced upon the enemy, and thus covered the forming of General Sherbrooke's division.

In this attack the whole of the enemy's troops were evidently employed, but repulsed in all directions: and they immediately commenced their retreat across the Alberché during the night. This they conducted in the most regular order, nor would it have been prudent for the combined armies to pursue; they left, however, in our possession, twenty pieces

in which, amongst other things, he strongly reprobates the rapacity of his troops; and concludes a Philippic on the subject by declaring that the only passions they had left were for blood and plunder. This is not, perhaps, quite so honest as Soult is said to have been, who, addressing his troops on the same subject, declared a resolution to put a stop to that practice, as he was resolved that nobody should rob in Portugal but himself!

Such had been the state of its occupancy by the French, that most of the inhabitants had shut up their shops, so that few necessaries, and no luxuries, were to be obtained; though these, wine in particular, were greatly needed."

Journal of an Officer.

pieces of cannon, a quantity of ammunition, and some prisoners.

After so long an action, with more than double numbers, it is not surprising that the loss of the British, both in men and officers, should have been very great. That of the enemy was, however, much greater; as Sir Arthur Wellesley had the most positive information that entire brigades of infantry were destroyed, and that the battalions which retired were much reduced in numbers; their total loss amounting at least to ten thousand men, that of the British being as in the note below.*

The French (still numerically superior to the combined army) continued to keep a rear guard of about ten thousand men on the left of the Alberché; whilst

[* On the side of the French, Generals Lapisse and Morlott were killed; and Generals Sebastiani and Boulet wounded. On the British side Major-General Mackenzie and Brigadier-General Langwerth were killed; whilst Major-General Hill and Brigadier-General A. Campbell were slightly wounded.

The total British loss on both days amounted to 34 officers killed, and 195 wounded; whilst the serjeants, &c. and rank and file were, killed 767; wounded, 3718; and 9 officers, with 644 others missing; making a grand total of 5367.

Colonel Alexander Gordon of the 83d regiment, who fell so gloriously on this hardfought day, was wounded in the neck by a musquet ball, charging the enemy at the head of his regiment; and when carrying off the field, a shell fell on him and killed him instantly. Colonel Gordon was very severely wounded in Holland, under the Marquis of Huntly, in whose regiment he was at that time a captain. He served in the same regiment in Egypt, and was subsequently appointed aid-du-camp to the Earl of Hardwick, during his viceroyship in Ireland. He was son to the late Lord Rockville, a Scottish Lord of Session, and the Countess of Dumfries, and brother to William Gordon, M. P. for Worcester, and partner in the house of Gordon and Murphy, in London. Colonel Gordon was little more than 33 years of age.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Ross also, who gloriously fell at the head of the grenadier company of the 2d (or Coldstream) regiment of guards, was an officer of the most promising talents, and of an excellent character. His death was universally remembered by all his brother officers, and by numerous friends. He was fourth son of the late Vice-Admiral Sir John Lockhart Ross, of Balnagowan, Bart. so much famed for his naval exploits whilst captain of the Tartar frigate.

Arrival of the Marquis of Wellesley.

whilst the extreme fatigue of the troops, the want of provisions, and the number of wounded to be taken care of, obliged the British to remain in their position so gallantly defended.

A reinforcement, consisting of Brigadier General Craufurd's brigade, arrived in the British camp on the 29th in the morning; and so great had been their anxiety to join in the expected conflict, that they had actually marched twelve Spanish leagues in little more than twenty-four hours: and on the 31st of July, about eleven o'clock at night, the enemy withdrew their rear guard, which had been posted on the heights on the left of the Alberch , the whole army marching towards Santa Olalla, as if with a view of taking up a position in the vicinity of Guadarama.

Immediately after the battle of Talavera, Sir Arthur Wellesley was declared Generalissimo of the Spanish armies, a circumstance which it was hoped would produce more unity of design in the Spanish proceedings, both civil and military.

The extraordinary fatigues and exertions he had undergone had, however, brought on an ague and fever, so that it was necessary that he should remove for some time to Lisbon for the benefit of the air.

On the 28th of July, the very day of the memorable battle, his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, landed at Cadiz from on board a British frigate, and was received with the most enthusiastic joy by all ranks. A vast multitude flocked down to the landing place to receive him, and his carriage was drawn by the populace, a thing almost unheard of in Spain.

Every public honour that could be shewn to him as Ambassador Extraordinary from Great Britain, and as brother to the illustrious General, was exhibited. On the 7th of August a grand entertainment was prepared, at which the Marquis with his suite, the heads of the government, the army, navy, and other departments, both native and British, were all assembled

Arrives at Seville.

assembled together with the Sicilian Ambassador, the Pope's Nuncio, several of the first Spanish grandees ; and, in fact, all persons of respectability connected with the two nations.

Patriotic toasts were given to enliven the scene, and the most brilliant theatric decorations were afterwards presented.

On the 10th the Marquis set out for Seville, where he was received with every mark of respect by the Supreme Junta, to whom he earnestly recommended that measures should be taken to pursue a more vigorous system for the effectual co-operation of the Spanish armies against their invaders ; whilst at the same time he, with great prudence and propriety, declined giving any advice as to their civil forms of government, or even respecting the proposal for a Regency ; a line of conduct fully adequate to convince the people of Spain that Great Britain only interfered for her welfare, in common with the great question of public liberty in Europe, without the slightest wish to interfere in her questions of domestic policy or internal regulation, and also proving that the introduction of an English army into Spain was solely for her defence against foreign invasion.

Notwithstanding the successful defence of Talavera, amounting, in fact, in itself to a signal victory, though not so in its consequences, Sir Arthur Wellesley found himself shortly afterwards obliged to fall back and take a defensive position on the Tagus at Deleytosa and its vicinity. As much of the success of the British army, or, at least, of its power to take advantage of its own victories, depended on the active co-operation of the Spaniards, not only indeed in a military, but in a civil point of view, it is necessary to go a little into the detail of that state of affairs which rendered such a retreat necessary, after so much blood had been shed, and so much glory gained.

It appears then, that when Sir Arthur Wellesley first

first entered Spain, he had a communication with General Cuesta respecting the occupation of two points on the Tagus, the Puerto de Banos, and the Puerto de Penales; on which it was arranged that the former should be occupied by a Spanish force, under the Marquis de la Reyna, whilst the latter should be held by the Duque de Parque, with a detachment from the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo. With respect to the fulfilment of the latter part of the arrangement the British general had some doubts, fearing that garrison not capable of sparing a sufficient force; and he therefore wrote to Marshal Beresford, some days before the battle of Talavera, to keep an eye upon it; but with respect to Puerto de Banos, a post of great importance, he had no doubt of its security, Cuesta having agreed to preserve it by large detachments from his army. Two days, however, after the battle, intelligence was received at Talavera, that 12,000 rations had been ordered at Fuente Duenos for the 28th, and 24,000 at Los Santos for the same day, for a French corps which, it was believed, was on its march to Puerto de Banos.

On this occasion Cuesta expressed a considerable anxiety for the safety of this post, and proposed to Sir Arthur that Sir Robert Wilson should be sent there with his corps: but though Sir Robert was that day at Talavera, yet his corps was in the mountains towards Escalona; and as he had already made himself very useful in that quarter, and had even been near Madrid, with which city he had kept up some communication, Sir Arthur was anxious to continue those services, and therefore proposed that Cuesta should immediately detach a Spanish force to the post that was threatened. But though Cuesta admitted the necessity of a reinforcement being sent, and confessed himself fully sensible of the propriety of continuing Sir Robert Wilson's exertions in their former quarter, still he could not be prevailed on to detach a part of his own army.

Having at that period no farther intelligence of the enemy's advance, Sir Arthur was in hopes that they might be deterred from their project by the intelligence of the defeat of their main body ; or at least that the garrison at the post would be capable of their own defence. On the 30th, however, he again renewed his application to Cuesta, but without effect : nor was it until the 2d of August that he could be prevailed upon to detach General Bassecourt, and that after intelligence had arrived of the enemy having entered Bejar, and when it was obvious that no defence would be made by the troops in the Puerto.

On the 2d of August intelligence was received of the enemy having entered Placentia in two columns ; and that the Marquis de la Reyna, whose two battalions did not amount to more than 600 men, with only about twenty rounds of ammunition each, had retired from the Puerto and Placentia, without firing a shot, and had gone to the bridge of Almaraz which he declared he intended to remove ; when the battalions at Bejar dispersed without making any resistance.

As soon as this intelligence was known, Cuesta then thought proper to apply to Sir Arthur Wellesley, proposing that half of the army should march to the rear to oppose the enemy, whilst the other half should maintain the post at Talavera, to which the British general answered, that if by "half the army," he meant *half of each army*, he could only reply that he was ready to go, or to stay, with the whole British army, but that he would not consent to separate it. Cuesta then wished that Sir Arthur should chuse between the two, when he preferred *to go*, thinking that the British troops were most likely to do the business effectually and without contest : and from being of opinion that to open the communication through Placentia, although very important to the Spaniards, was still of more importance

tance to the British army ; with which decision General Cuesta appeared perfectly satisfied.

But the movements of the main body of the French army, ever since the 1st of August had induced Sir Arthur to be of opinion, that, on despairing of forcing the posts at Talavera, they intended to effect a passage by Escalona, and thus to open a communication with the French corps coming from Placentia. This suspicion was confirmed on the night of the 2d, by communications from Sir Robert Wilson ;* when Sir Arthur Wellesley, prepared for every chance, immediately waited upon General O'Donoghue, and pointed out to him the possibility that, in case the enemy came through Escalona, General Cuesta

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would

* The gallant and judicious Sir Robert Wilson, who has distinguished himself so much both in the literary and military worlds, is the son of an eminent historical painter, Mr. Benjamin Wilson, who, about the middle of the last century, resided in Great Queen Street, London, and disputed the palm with Hudson and Ramsey, the two most popular artists of that day. Sir Robert was the youngest son, and was educated at Winchester and Westminster Schools, at the latter of which places an anecdote is preserved of his early military bias ; for, having heard that his Majesty would have a grand review at Cæsar's camp on Bagshot heath, the youthful aspirant after fame actually hired a poney, and with the immense sum of a few shillings broke from his form to enjoy the splendour of the scene. Fate and his father designed him for the civil warfare of the Courts of Law ; but inclination got the better of prudence, and the considerate kindness of a married sister, enabled him to join the army in Flanders, (where his brother-in-law, Colonel Boswell, was killed) he being then only sixteen years of age, and of course unable to draw upon his own fortune, his father being dead. Here he began his career as cornet in the 15th dragoons, and has since been engaged in all the active scenes of the various wars arising out of the French Revolution having also been engaged in several important military missions. His personal skill and gallantry are sufficiently proved by the fact, that, in the brilliant affair of Villers en Couche, he was one of the officers present when one hundred and seventy British dragoons, under the command of Major Aylet, actually cut their way through ten thousand Frenchmen, and killed from 800 to 1200, besides taking three pieces of cannon.

He married a daughter of Colonel Belford, niece of the late Sir Adam Williamson ; and, in 1809 and 10, organized the Lusitanian legion, which so often distinguished itself.

would be obliged to evacuate Talavera before Sir Arthur should be able to return to him ; he therefore urged him in the strongest manner to collect all the carts he possibly could, in order to remove the British sick and wounded ; and he further put the purport of the communication in writing, in order to be laid before General Cuesta.

Having arranged every thing, with every attention in his power, to the security of the British hospitals, Sir Arthur commenced his march on the 3d to Oropesa ; and, hearing that General Bassecourt's Spanish corps was at Cantinello, he sent orders for it to halt there the next day, in order that he might be nearer to it ; but, about five in the evening of that day, he received intelligence that the French had arrived from Placentia at Naval Moral, by which movement they got between him and the bridge of Almaraz ; and about an hour afterwards he received a letter from General O'Donoghue, informing him of the intention of General Cuesta to evacuate Talavera that evening, *and to leave there the British hospital*, excepting such men as could be moved by the means he already possessed ; and this on the ground of his apprehensions that Sir Arthur was not strong enough for the corps coming from Placentia, and that the enemy was moving upon his flank, and had returned to Santa Olalla in his front.

Irritated at such weakness of conduct, and fully convinced that such reasons were quite insufficient for giving up such an important post at Talavera, and thus exposing the combined armies to an attack in front and rear at the same time, Sir Arthur wrote immediately to Cuesta : but he had begun his march before he received it, and he arrived at Oropesa on the morning of the 4th, as if convinced that safety was only practicable under the wing of the British army.

Thus situated Sir Arthur had only his choice of evils. On one view of the question, the enemy, stated to be thirty thousand strong, but at all events consist-
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Military difficulties.

ing of the corps of Soult and Ney, either united, or not very distant from each other, and supposed by Marshal Jourdan and Joseph Buonaparte to be sufficiently strong to attack the British army though stated at 25,000, much more than its number, were on one side, in possession of the high road to the passage of the Tagus at Almaraz, the bridge at which place had indeed been removed, but the boats still remaining on the river. On the other view of the question the British general had reason to expect the advance of Victor's corps to Talavera as soon as General Cuesta's retreat should be known; and even after leaving twelve thousand men to watch General Vanegas, and allowing from ten to eleven thousand to have been killed in the late battle, still would there have remained 25,000 men.

From this difficult situation, then, he could only extricate the combined armies by great celerity of movement, (to which the troops were unequal, as they had not had their allowance of provisions for several days,) and by their success in two battles: but, if unsuccessful in either, all retreat would then have been cut off, whilst if Soult and Ney had avoided an action, and retired before him, waiting the arrival of Victor, then they would have been exposed to a general action with 50,000 men, and equally without a retreat.

He had also reason to expect that as the Marquis de la Reyna could not remove the boats from the river Almaraz, they would be destroyed by Soult: his only mode of retreat, therefore, was by the bridge of Arzobispo; and if he had moved on, the enemy, by breaking that bridge while the army should be engaged with Soult and Ney, would thus have deprived them even of that resource.

At Oropesa,* he could not take a position, because
by

* "4th August. We left Oropesa about nine this morning, and, instead of retracing our former steps, turned to the east, and arrived at the

by that he would leave open the road to the bridge of Arzobispo, from Talavera by Calera ; and therefore, after considering the whole subject maturely, he was of opinion that it was advisable to retire to the Arzobispo bridge, and there to take up a defensive position on the Tagus, considering that the sooner the defensive line should be taken up the more likely the troops would be able to defend it ; particularly as the French army when combined would, at least, amount to sixty-two thousand.

On this principle he marched on the 4th of August, and

the Puerta del Arzobispo, where there is a long straggling village, on the Talavera side of the water ; the bridge itself has eleven arches and two towers. The Tagus here divides the province of Estremadura and Toledo ; it is about sixty yards wide, and runs with great velocity over a rough and rocky bed. We huddled for the night on the banks of it, in a forest of oaks, where a considerable quantity of corn was growing, though the soil is stony and bad ; here we were met by a number of men from the hospitals at Talavera, all such as were enabled to walk, or be otherwise moved, (amounting I believe to nearly 200,) having been brought away to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands.

"5th. Our march this day was unattended with any thing remarkable, except its excessive length, and the consequent fatigue to the troops, many of whom are falling sick from fatigue, and want of food. We marched six long leagues, and rested for the night in the neighbourhood of a village at no great distance from the river Gualiga. On the 6th we proceeded about four leagues ; the roads dreadfully bad, and the difficulty and fatigue in forwarding the artillery excessive. I write this from the banks of a rivulet called the Iboa, where we have halted for the night, and from whence there is the most cheerless prospect of rocky hills and barren plains I ever beheld ;

' Whilst wilds immeasurably spread
Seem lengthening as we go.'—

"7th. Of this day's march, though but four miles, I can only say, that the fatigues surpassed those of yesterday—

' As up the steep of many a mountain's side,
We wound with toilsome march, our long array.'

Men and horses were exhausted ; many of the former are consequently very ill, and twenty of the latter lie dead upon the road ; not a drop of wine or spirits to be had to recruit our strength ; nor have we tasted bread or vegetables for many days."

Journal of an Officer.

and crossed the Tagus by the bridge of Arzobispo, continuing his route to Deleytosa, in which he considered himself well situated, to defend the passage of the Almaraz, and the lower parts of the Tagus.

About two thousand of the wounded were brought away by the Spaniards from Talavera, but fifteen hundred still remained there ; and Sir Arthur, though justly offended at the conduct of the Spaniards, had nevertheless the liberal candour to acknowledge that he doubted whether under any circumstances it would have been possible, or consistent with humanity, to have removed them.

He had therefore only this consolation, that from the treatment which some of the soldiers wounded on the 27th of the preceding month, and who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, experienced from them, and from the manner in which he himself had always treated the wounded that had fallen into his hands, he had reason to expect that these poor fellows would be well treated ; and also, as he himself very justly and feelingly expressed it, that circumstances over which he had, and could have no controul, had alone placed the army in such a situation as to be obliged to leave them behind.

A few days after this, Sir Arthur Wellesley transmitted a letter to the French Commander-in-Chief, in which he requested his care and attention to the wounded officers and soldiers who had fallen into his hands, in return for the care and attention which he had invariably paid to those of the French whom he had got possession of at different times ; he also requested that money might be permitted to be sent to the officers, and that medical men might be received to take care of the British soldiers, &c.

To this request Marshal Mortier sent a very civil answer, promising that every care should be taken, and every attention paid, to the wounded, but declining any answer to the other points, until he should transmit them to the Commander-in-Chief. A day or

Detached services.

or two afterwards a British commissary, who had been taken prisoner, and allowed to come away, reported that the British officers and soldiers were doing remarkably well, and that they were not only well fed, and well taken care of, but in fact preferably to the French troops!*

Situated

* When Sir Arthur Wellesley marched from Talavera, Sir Robert Wilson, then on the detached service at Escalona, was put in communication with General Cuesta; and, having marched through the mountains as far as Banos, was there attacked by the French corps of Marshal Ney; and, though defeated by a superior force, he seems to have conducted himself with great gallantry and coolness; for whilst he was on his march, in the morning of the 12th of August, on the road to restore his communication with the allied army, a peasant assured him, that a considerable quantity of dust, which he perceived in the road of Placentia, proceeded from the march of a body of the enemy. He immediately returned, and took post in front of Banos, with his picquets in advance of Aldea Nueva, selecting such points for defence as the exigency of the time permitted. The enemy's cavalry advanced on the high road, and drove back his small cavalry posts; but a picquet of Spanish infantry, which he had concealed, poured in on the cavalry a steady and well directed fire, killing and wounding many of them. At this period 200 Spanish infantry, who were in advance before Aldea Nueva, continued, under the direction of Colonel Grant and their officers, to maintain the ground most gallantly, until the enemy's cavalry and mounted chasseurs, in considerable bodies, appeared on both flanks, when they were obliged to retreat.

These troops now advanced in great numbers in every direction, and pushed to cut off the legion posted between Aldea Nueva and Banos; but, by the steady conduct both of officers and men, the enemy could only advance gradually, and with a very severe loss from the commanding fire thrown on them. At this critical juncture, however, the Merida battalion gave way on the right, and thus laid open a road which cut behind the main position of Sir Robert's corps, so that he was obliged to order a retreat on the heights above Banos, when he again felt the necessity of sending a detachment to scour the road of Monte Major, by which he saw the enemy directing a column. At this period Don Carlos, Marquis de Espagne, came up with his battalion of light infantry, and in the most gallant manner took post along the heights commanding the road of Banos, which enabled Sir Robert to send some of the Merida battalion on the mountain to the left, so as to command the main road which the enemy had attempted to ascend.

The Marquis's battalion of light infantry, and the detachment of the legion on its right continued, notwithstanding the enemy's fire of artillery

Situated as Sir Arthur Wellesley now was, distress through want of provisions, and its consequent effects, obliged him to move towards the frontiers of Portugal in order to refresh his troops, where he had every reason to expect that he might be supplied with every thing he wanted.*

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artillery and musquetry, to maintain their ground: but at six o'clock in the evening three columns of the enemy mounted the height on the left, gained it, and poured in such a fire on the troops below, that longer defence was impracticable, and the whole were obliged to return on the mountains on the left, leaving open the main road, along which a considerable body of cavalry immediately poured. The battalion of Seville had been left at Bejar with orders to follow the proposed march of Sir Robert Wilson's detachment; but when he was forced to return, and the action commenced, it was ordered to Banos to watch the Monte Major road and the heights in the rear of the left. When the enemy's cavalry came near to this battalion, an officer and some dragoons called out to the Commanding officer to surrender; but a volley killed him and his party, when the battalion proceeded to mount the heights, in which movement it was attacked and surrounded by a column of cavalry, and a column of infantry, but cut its way through and cleared itself, killing a great many of the enemy, especially of the cavalry.

After a resistance of nine hours, and without artillery, Sir Robert was obliged to retreat; but this he did in good order, though in the presence of a very superior force.

* "11th August. We this day proceeded, or rather receded, about three leagues, and huddled in a dismal valley on the banks of the El monte river, distant about a mile and a half from the village of Jericigo. This village, like most others that I have seen in Spain, consists of an overgrown church, and a cluster of pigstyes, denominated dwellings; the church here has been gutted and degraded into a stable; but its roof is of very handsome Gothic construction.

"Truxillo, August 20th. This is a considerable town capable of containing ten or twelve thousand inhabitants; it is built upon an eminence, commanded by a large Moorish castle, and surrounded by a vast tract of rocky and unproductive land. It contains a spacious square, neatly surrounded by piazzas. In this square is the family mansion of Pizarro, this being his birth place; and it is the best house in the town.

"There are besides several handsome monasteries and churches; in one of the latter (that dedicated to Santa Maria) is a plain marble slab, in memory of the warrior, whose deeds and misdeeds are well known. Here is also another tablet to a nephew of the no less celebrated, but much more harmless, Cervantes. The interior of this church,

The succeeding events of this year require but little further illustration: it is sufficient therefore to observe that part of the French army, under Sebastiani, fell

church, particularly the roof, exhibits the most beautiful specimen of Gothic architecture I ever beheld; it appears to have been very recently and completely repaired; but being now, like many other religious houses in this country, converted to a barrack, it is, I fear, in a fair way of dilapidation.

"23d to Madelin, the approach to which has a very striking appearance, coming suddenly upon the banks of the wide and winding Guadiana. On the summit of a rock, on the opposite bank, is a large and very handsome Moorish castle, whilst the same view present one of the most beautiful bridges I ever saw. The Guadiana is the second largest river in Spain, and is wide, but shallow, in this place; not used, here at least, for the purposes of navigation. The Moorish castle stands in a most commanding situation, and contains within its walls a church, an ample amphitheatre, and many monastic cells; all at this time desolate and deserted. The bridge has twenty very finely turned arches, of different sizes, but elegant symmetry; upon a small column, erected above the largest arch, is a splendid coat of arms, surrounded by a coronet, and beneath these are the numerous names and titles of a nobleman who caused it to be built.

"From the castle is a most commanding view, comprising seven towns, and a most extensive plain; which plain is formed into a sort of semicircle by a chain of distant mountains: all this part of Spain seems to be divided by nature into these sort of districts or sections. The village or town of Madelin is but a poor place though somewhat superior to those we have lately passed through.

"24th August. From Madelin to Merida we had a very long march of six leagues.

"Merida stands upon the Guadiana, and is the largest and best town I have seen since quitting Talavera. The river here is broader and deeper than at Madelin, and from the length of the bridge must be extremely wide in the winter season. This bridge has no less than fifty-six arches; but one third of them are at present dry; in none of them is there the least regularity of architecture, or beauty of symmetry—there is less appearance of desolation in this town, and more of cultivation in its vicinity, than I have any where witnessed throughout Spain. Of the churches here, the usual resort of both idle and curious travellers, I can as yet say nothing, as their doors are this day studiously barred against us: but as I understand we halt here for a few days, I may probably gain access to them.

"September 1st. Having halted this day, I have had ample time to visit the place; but the churches offer nothing worth writing about. The town is well worth exploring, however, by travellers, as it possesses the remains of an amphitheatre, an aqueduct, and many other Roman antiquities."

Journal of an Officer.

Raised to the Peerage.

fell in, on the 11th of August with General Venegas, and his Spanish army, at Almonacid, and inflicted upon him a total defeat; yet on the eastern coast of Spain the French were not so successful, and were particularly checked by the destruction of a convoy, destined for Barcelona, by the squadron under Lord Collingwood on the 25th of October.

When the intelligence of the battle of Talavera reached this country, the admiration of the empire was excited by the gallant conduct of the Commander-in-Chief, and his brave troops. The usual thanks were given by the legislature, and private subscriptions took place as usual for the wounded, and for the benefit of the widows and orphans of those who so gloriously fell on that day.

A mark of royal approbation was also more peculiarly extended to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who on the 26th of August in this year, (1809,) was elevated to the dignity of the Peerage of the United Empire, by the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera, and of Wellington, and Baron Douro of Wellesley, in the county of Somerset.*

Lord Wellington, soon after the retreat of his army, suffered severely from the fatigues of the campaign; but his health being re-established in October, he was about that time appointed by the Regency Captain-General of all the forces serving in Portugal; and his army was now in excellent order, having all provisions and stores supplied from Lisbon and Abrantes.

On the Spanish side, the French made themselves masters of Hostalrich on the 8th of November; and on the 19th of the same month General Arrisaga was

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attacked

* It is worthy of remark, that the motto of the family of Wellesley is "*Unica virtus necessaria*"—or *Virtue alone is necessary*; but Lord Wellington, having adopted a new motto on his creation; "*Porro unum necessarium*"—*One thing more is necessary*, his Lordship has shewn himself capable of performing not only that *one thing* more, but also of following it up with a successive train of noble deeds.

attacked and beaten by Marshal Soult on the plains of Ocana.

On the 25th following, the Spaniards under the Duc del Parque were also defeated near Alba de Tormes, by General Kellerman; and, on the 10th of December, Gerona surrendered to the French, after having gloriously supported all the hardships and dangers of a siege for nearly six months.* Such was the state of affairs, at the close of 1809.

* After Gerona had been twice invested, and the assailants twice driven back, the French again advanced to besiege it with more formidable means, and in a more regular manner; and, on the 12th of August, the besieged finding themselves unable, any longer, to defend the castle of Monjoy, retired into the city, leaving the castle a heap of ruins. Yet they withstood all the attacks of different French generals, during a siege of six months; nor was it until the 10th of December that they surrendered on honourable, but badly kept, conditions.

The gallant defence of this town seems to rival that of Saragossa. A lady, who was in it during that period, gave the following interesting account to her friend. "It is now nine o'clock at night, and we have had an hour's respite, after a bombardment of three days, without a moment's interruption. I can find no words capable of giving you an idea of the horrors of the scene. The enemy has eleven mortars, all of which are discharged at once. We have forty balls, that have fallen at our own threshold. The Cathedral is in front of us; and they knowing it is full of people, and that the magazine of powder is adjacent to it, direct their aims at that edifice. But God assists us; and, although six balls have fallen upon the Cathedral, one only has passed through it, which indeed has killed thirteen women, and wounded fourteen; but this is nothing, considering the number of people in the church. All the engineers allow, that there never was a more severe bombardment. The shells are twelve or fourteen inches in *circumference*, (the lady ought to have said *diameter*;) and they inclose combustibles which often occasion conflagration where they fall. Yesterday two very large ones exploded before our house, and the Royal Hospital has been on fire ever since yesterday morning; but the sick and wounded have been removed. The houses are almost all destroyed; but, notwithstanding this general mischief and ruin, it is astonishing to see the people of the city, and in particular the women, at the doors of their houses, and passing along the streets without fear; and even the military express their surprise at the insensibility of the citizens, male and female, to the dangers to which they are exposed."

Vote of thanks to Lord Wellington.

SECTION VII.

Parliamentary thanks to Lord Wellington in 1810—Debates on that subject—Luminous defence and vindication by the Marquis of Wellesley—Affairs in Spain—Invasion of Andalusia—Occupancy of Seville by the French—Sebastiani defeats Arisaga—Biographical notices of the former—Siege of Cadiz—Jealousies of the Spanish Junta—Negotiations of our ambassador with the Spanish Government—Calling of the Cortes—Atrocities of the French army before Cadiz—Operations in Catalonia—Defeat of General O'Donnel at Vichu by Augereau—Anecdotes of the latter—Operations in the North—Fall of Astorga—Atrocious proclamation of Massena—Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo—Distribution of the French force—Anecdotes of Regnier—Policy of Lord Wellington—Cantonments of the British army—Operations of the armies—Affair at La Concepcion, under Brigadier-General Craufurd—Siege and surrender of Almeida to the French—The British army retire, and clear the country—Anecdotes of these events—Topographical delineations—Lord Wellington takes post at Busaco—**BATTLE OF BUSACO**—Anecdotes and occurrences—Biographical notices of the officers engaged—Political and military consequences of the action—British army retire upon their lines at Torres Vedras—Sufferings of the Portuguese—Gallant seizure of Coimbra by Colonel Trant—French army takes post in front of the British lines—Retreat of Massena—Pursuit of the French army—Judicious arrangements of Lord Wellington—Occurrences of the French retreat towards Santarem—British positions at Cartaxo, and afterwards at Torres Vedras.

THE distinguished services of Lord Wellington at Talavera had certainly, by a great proportion of the people at home, been considered as so highly transcendent as fully to justify the marks of royal favour bestowed upon him, and to call for the thanks of the Legislature. There were, however, some few individuals, who still professed to have their doubts; and accordingly when Parliament met, and the motion for a vote of thanks was expected, Lord Grey in the House of Lords, on the day preceding, expressed his opinion that it was of considerable importance that some information should be laid before the House, by which they might be enabled to form some
opinion

opinion with respect to the propriety of the motion. It was necessary, he contended, that they should know, whether the advance of Lord Wellington into Spain was the exercise of his own judgment, or the result of the instructions of ministers. It was also of importance that they should have before them the nature of the information communicated by Lord Wellington respecting the action of Talavera; there being, as he said, strong reason to believe that ministers, at the time they held out that battle as a victory, knew, from what was stated by Lord Wellington in his dispatches, that our army must retreat; and that the battle, said to be a victory, must be followed by all the consequences of a defeat. He therefore moved for the instructions to his Lordship; for the dispatches received from him, on his marching to Placentia; for the dispatches which he sent from Talavera after the battle; and also for certain correspondence between Lord Wellington and the Spanish government respecting the supplies for the army. But all these motions were negatived as totally unnecessary, and also on the ground that there was no precedent for calling for papers in order to enquire into the general conduct of a campaign, where the only object in contemplation was, a specific vote of thanks for a particular service.

On the succeeding day Lord Liverpool rose in the House for the purpose of moving thanks to Lord Wellington and the officers and men under his command, for the skill and ability, the valor and bravery, by which they obtained the glorious victory at Talavera.

The prudence and propriety of his Lordship's conduct on this occasion was not only honourable to himself, but to Lord Wellington; for he had framed his motion so, as he himself said, with a view to conciliation, as to separate the conduct of the army and of the officers commanding from every other subject connected

Motion of Thanks.

connected with the general management of the campaign.

Whatever opinion might be entertained with respect to the measures which led to the battle itself, or to the consequences which ensued, still he contended there could be not one sentiment as to the skill of the general, and the valor of his army. In tracing the progress of the glorious event, he observed that it had been determined on the part of the French, to make a concentrated attack on the combined armies; that although the Spanish army was present, and partially was engaged in the battle, yet the brunt of the attack was principally, if not wholly, borne by the English, not amounting to more than 20,000 men, whilst the French army fell little short of 50,000.

Yet the enemy, after repeatedly renewing their attacks, were repulsed with the loss of nearly 10,000 men, twenty pieces of artillery, and four standards.

It was of the last importance, he contended, that such victories as that of Talavera, should be rewarded by every tribute of honour and praise that House could bestow; for as it had been the good fortune of Great Britain to unite a military spirit with commercial pursuits, so every encouragement was due still further to promote that spirit.

Even now, he justly asserted, no achievement was ever more entitled to praise than the victory at Talavera; and as he admitted that if their lordships were called upon to decide on all the circumstances of the campaign, it might naturally alter the question. He wished, therefore, to direct the attention of the House solely to the conduct of the officer, and the army under his command, on the 27th and 28th of July, 1809.

To this the Earl of Suffolk answered, that, as a professional man, it was painful to his feelings to state any objections to a motion of thanks to Lord Wellington; but he could not denominate that a victory where a retreat immediately followed, and the wounded

wounded and the prisoners fell immediately into the hands of the enemy. Even the capture of artillery, he contended, was not in all circumstances to be considered as a signal of victory, as he said it might have been convenient for the enemy to leave them upon the field ! With regard to the reinforcement of 36,000 men which was advancing to support the French, he enquired, why did not Lord Wellington know of their situation, and the probability of their approach ? It was the duty of every general to have such information.

Considering also the amount of the British force in the Peninsula, and that only so small a portion of it was brought into action at Talavera, he thought that upon this head there was also much ground for reprehension, and this conduct appeared to him to be in perfect conformity to that of the same general in bringing up only half his forces to act against the enemy at the battle of Vimiera.

The Earl of Grosvenor was apprehensive that if the House were to be called upon to vote thanks for every instance of the display of valour, the proceeding would draw after it very injurious results. If a single detachment, nay, if an individual, had exhibited proofs of bravery, their lordships, he said, might be called upon to vote away their thanks ; and, as to the battle of Talavera itself, it was one which, in all its circumstances, did not appear to him to be entitled to such a reward.

After some other observations, Lord Grey rose to shew how little justice there was in such a vote of thanks. He asserted that the battle of Talavera had neither succeeded in attaining the general object of the campaign, nor the immediate object, that of dispersing the enemy's army. As to the general object of the campaign he considered it to be that of driving the enemy's troops before him, and obtaining possession of Madrid, the capital : now the French troops in Spain, at that time, occupied a defensive

line of positions, from Toledo to Salamanca. On the advance of Lord Wellington into Spain, they left their positions and concentrated their forces to oppose him. Lord Wellington then marched in the direction of Madrid, as far as Talavera; where he was obliged to stop for want of provisions, and the means of transport. The battle was fought, and the enemy for the moment repulsed. But the general object of the advance into Spain was lost. The enemy retained possession of the capital, and the British troops were obliged to retreat. It had been said that Lord Wellington had displayed great skill in the dispositions he had made for battle. Lord Grey would not agree in that opinion. The position on the left had not been sufficiently secured or taken advantage of; and there was much also to blame in the conduct of Lord Wellington, with respect to the Spanish troops; certainly the dispatch of the Spanish General gave a very different account of the conduct of troops, from that given in the dispatch of Lord Wellington. But if Lord Wellington believed the Spanish troops to be of such a description that they could not be trusted to meet the enemy in a situation of such imminent peril at Talavera; if Lord Wellington held such an opinion of the Spanish troops why did he give the Spanish General the option of defending the passes against the advance of the French army under the *Duke of Dalmatia*, which threatened the flank and rear of the British, or taking care of our sick and wounded at Talavera? Why also had not Lord Wellington better information respecting the defence of these passes? Why trust to the intelligence he received from the Spaniards, neglecting even the ordinary precaution of sending an officer of his own to ascertain whether the passes were properly defended?

To this he added that His Majesty's ministers, at the time they triumphed forth the battle as a splendid and decisive victory, were in the possession of Lord

Wellington's dispatches, in which he stated the unfortunate situation of his army, the necessity of retreating, and the difficulties he had to encounter in effecting such a retreat.

We have thus in one view given all the objections which could be raised, either against his Lordship or against the ministry, by those who upon all occasions had disapproved of our engaging in the Spanish cause, and who had never spoken of our armies in Spain without prophesying disgrace and disaster. It is but common justice therefore, without adopting the politics of any party, to record the manly and lucid vindication of the gallant Wellington from one who, both in his relative and official capacity, seemed particularly called on for his support.

The Marquis of Wellesley therefore, after apologizing for his private feelings on the present occasion, when he was called upon to perform a public duty, by vindicating the character and conduct of so near and dear a relative as a brother, began by proceeding to observe that Lord Grey did not seem very clearly to understand the object of Lord Wellington's operations.

On the arrival of his brother in Portugal, he found that the enemy was not only in possession of its northern provinces, but that a plan had been concerted, by which Victor and Soult were to advance from different points, into the south. The first object, therefore, was the deliverance of Portugal. The operation then by which he expelled Soult was as able, as rapid, and conclusive, as any recorded in the page of history. It was therefore unfair, as some noble Lords had done, to describe such an operation merely as an affair with the rear guard of Soult's corps. After this, Lord Wellington immediately proceeded to the south to oppose Victor, who had actually advanced in that direction, but who on the approach of Lord Wellington had thought it prudent to retreat. What was the situation of Spain, when Lord Wellington advanced

advanced into the country? The Supreme Central government had been long established, and their authority was generally recognized. The part of the country through which his march lay abounded in resources of every description; nor was it fair to entertain a doubt of the power and disposition of the Spanish government to render them available. The joint request of the Supreme Junta and General Cuesta to Lord Wellington, was, that he would co-operate with the Spanish army in driving Victor from the Tagus. It was impossible therefore for Lord Wellington to refuse his assistance for the attainment of this desirable object, as a refusal on his part would have argued a supposition that the Spanish government was incompetent to perform its duty: and that the country, though full of provisions, was unwilling to supply them.

Besides this, it was impossible to answer for the safety of Portugal, without striking such a blow against Victor as might prevent him from joining, or co-operating, with Soult, or any French corps that might invade that kingdom from the northward.

He then stated, in opposition to Lord Grey's surmises, that the plan agreed upon between the British and Spanish Generals was, that the British army, supported by that under Cuesta, should move against Victor's corps, and that in the mean time Vanegas, by a circuitous route should threaten Madrid, in order, if possible, by this demonstration, to draw off the attention of the French corps under Joseph and Sebastiani, and thus prevent them from making any movement in conjunction with Victor.

The due execution of this plan, in all its parts, he contended was sufficient to justify Lord Wellington in his expectations of success; and accordingly he advanced against Victor then at Talavera, on the 22d of July, and soon came in sight of the French army, whom he proposed to attack on the following morning.

At this very moment, Victor's corps was then totally unsupported by every other, and consisted of no more than 28,000 men. If, therefore, the attack upon Victor had been made on the 23d, as Lord Wellington proposed, the result must have been not only most glorious but most complete. It happened unfortunately, however, that General Cuesta refused to attack the enemy on that day; but for what reason had never been explained; and the consequence was that Victor retreated, and made his escape on the very night of the 23d, and effected a junction with Joseph and Sebastiani.

And even at the very same time, General Vanegas, who ought to have been at Arganda on the 22d, was so perplexed with orders and counter orders from the Junta, that he did not arrive there until the 29th, a day after the battle had been fought.

These things were certainly most unfortunate: but, as his Lordship added, against such strange mismanagement what human prudence could provide.

With respect to the political questions connected with our assistance afforded to Spain, the Marquis perfectly agreed that there was a necessity for a radical change in the present modes of the Spanish government. It was impossible, however, that such a change could be the work of a day; but we were not therefore to abandon the Spaniards to the mercy of their cruel invaders, or to desert them in the crisis of their fortunes.

With respect indeed to the battle of Talavera itself, he would say nothing more of it in a military point of view than that the British troops had succeeded in repulsing the attack of a French army almost double their own numbers, the efforts of which had chiefly been directed against their position.

But with respect to its consequences, he would boldly maintain that this signal defeat had essentially contributed to the main objects of the campaign. For, unless that blow had been struck against Victor, it would

Annuity settled by Parliament.

would have been impossible to prevent the enemy from overrunning the south of Spain, or from making a fresh irruption into Portugal. In fact, it had saved the south of Spain from absolute destruction. It had afforded time to Portugal to organize her army, and to strengthen her military posts. It had also enabled Lord Wellington to take a position where he might derive supplies from Spain, at the same time that he drew nearer his own magazines—and, upon the whole, the Marquis did not hesitate to say, that his brother was as justly entitled to every distinction that his Sovereign had conferred upon him, and to every reward and honour which it was in the power of that House to bestow, as any noble Lord who for his personal services had obtained the same distinctions, or who sat there by descent from his illustrious ancestors.

After this luminous and liberal exposition, no further opposition was made to the motion, as far as it regarded Lord Wellington and his brave army, though Lord Grenville contended that the whole substance of the Marquis's speech went to support Lord Grey's motion for papers; and although Lord Liverpool had declared that the present question was to be considered only in reference to the case precisely in point, yet his Lordship still contended that the question itself stood on a broader basis, and was, in fact, whether a British army ought to have been risked in an enterprise which depended so much on Spanish co-operation. This question was none of his seeking; but he must say, that even a victory, if attended with calamitous consequences, did not deserve the thanks of that House. He believed that Lord Wellington was fettered by the nature of the service in which he had been sent, and by his instructions; and that the plan, and its calamitous consequences, ought to be attributed to ministers.

An act of Parliament was passed for settling an annuity of 2,000*l.* per annum, though not without some opposition in both Houses of the Legislature; and

and even on the 20th of February, the day appointed for the second reading of the bill, so strong was the voice of party, that a petition was actually presented from the City of London against it. These exertions, however, failed in their effect, and the general voice of the nation hailed the annuity as a just reward to him who was risking life, and spending fortune, in the service of his country.

The disasters on the part of the Spanish arms, at the close of 1809, had induced the Supreme Junta to undertake more strenuous measures for the purpose of saving the south of Spain, as the grand French army, which was concentrated in December 1809, in the territory between Madrid and Toledo, was about the middle of January drawing near to the Sierra Morena. In consequence of this, the Spaniards selected the best positions in the Sierra for defence, formed intrenchments, erected batteries, intersected the roads by deep cuts in some places, and constructed mines for blowing them up in others. This, however, was not sufficient, as artificial defences merely added to natural ones, and on so extended a line, as that presented by the Sierra Morena, can be of but little avail if not defended by determined hearts, and active hands, as a large army by its resources will always be able to open other roads; or, if not, to overcome those difficulties when the passes are not defended.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the French army on the 20th and 21st of January, both cavalry and infantry, forced their way through the mountains, by the common passes, though they found it necessary to adopt a more circuitous route for their heavy artillery. In fact the Spanish force, appointed for the defence of the passes, made scarcely any resistance, and the French drove them from their entrenchments with the bayonet; whilst the intersections of the roads, and the difficulties occasioned by the mines, did not present the slightest stoppage to their progress.

A great proportion of the Spanish force were taken prisoners, and the remainder dispersed, every war-like store and ammunition falling into the hands of the enemy, who immediately directed their march to Cordova and Seville, which, with the greatest part of Andalusia, yielded without resistance.

A force under Sebastiani* was next sent towards Grenada, which also fell after some slight resistance from the Spanish troops under Arisaga. Grenada was now fortified, and Sebastiani proceeded against Malaga,

* This grenadier ambassador of the grenadier emperor of the French, to the Ottoman Porte, and afterwards a general in Spain, was perhaps indebted for much of his personal favour with Buonaparte to his being a countryman, being born at Ajacio in Corsica, in 1774. His father was a postillion, and his mother kept a petty winehouse, resorted to by individuals of the lowest class of the people. Her maiden name was Buona, and supposed to be a distant relative of the present imperial house.

The Corsican talents of young Sebastiani met with an early culture; for though, until the year 1792, he actually followed his father's line of life; yet charity, or some closer feeling, had induced his mother's confessor to teach him that which his parents considered as superfluous, the arts of reading and writing, thus qualifying him for his subsequent diplomatic services. It is said that, even then, he was something of the pedant; but his ambition extended no further than to acquire so much knowledge as would enable him to shine among his fellow postillions in the stable, little dreaming that he should so soon drive into the cabinets of Princes.

He afterwards found his way to France; and, as the name of a Corsican was the most opprobrious epithet which a native of the south of that kingdom, (or republic!) could apply to another, (*un vilain Corse*) he thought proper to forget the place of his nativity, called himself *un François*, and was among those adventurers and criminals whom the Jacobins called to Paris as their coadjutors in 1792, under the name of Marseillois federalists; fellows whom they picked up from all the low gaming houses and bagnios in Marseilles, and even from the gallies. In the bloody scenes of the Revolution he fully participated; and was the worthy companion of Buonaparte during all his Italian atrocities; afterwards followed him to Egypt; and was afterwards dispatched on a military mission into Egypt and Syria, when his *Exposé*, in opposition to Sir Robert Wilson, and so insulting to England, first made its appearance. His subsequent gross attack on Sir John Stuart is another proof of his being a fit companion for his imperial master.

Conquests in the south.

Malaga, where a number of priests and monks had been employed night and day in preaching a crusade against the French infidels. The inhabitants of Malaga and its vicinity, a country peculiarly mountainous, had taken up arms, and a capuchin friar was appointed their general. All the officers too were monks, and the effect of religion, added to patriotism, had given the business rather an alarming appearance to the French, particularly as six thousand men had seized the great pass into the mountains, and deep trenches were cut for securing the roads leading to it from the plain.

Sebastiani having set out with the advanced guard of his army from Antequera on the 5th of February, soon drove the patriots from their fortresses in the mountains to Malaga; but there they rallied in a great, but disorderly mass, having with them a large train of artillery and a detachment of cavalry. With the most undaunted courage and obstinate valour they withstood the musquetry and artillery of the whole French army for a considerable time; but at length a charge of cavalry overpowered them, and they fled leaving fifteen hundred dead on the field of battle; when the French entered the city with the fugitives who kept up the contest for a few moments from the windows of houses and at the crossings of streets, but at length were forced to desist.

The intrusive king had already made his entry into Seville; and the possession of Malaga, added to the other acquisitions of this early campaign, made the French consider themselves as masters of the whole kingdom. In fact, with the exception of Cadiz, whither the Supreme Junta had retired, there was no place which could offer the least resistance in the centre or south of the kingdom, though the flame of patriotism was still burning on the eastern coast, and in Catalonia.

Even Cadiz and the Isle of Leon were incapable of defence, and must immediately have fallen with-
out

out the aid of an English army ; yet some unreasonable jealousy on the part of the Spaniards threw numerous obstacles in the way of our affording them that assistance which we were most capable of doing. Even the Junta themselves, when in Cadiz, objected to the stay of the troops under General Sherbrooke, who were waiting to disembark at that place, but expressed a wish that they might be sent to Catalonia, and were even absurd enough to require that the British force should be broken into small detachments, to be attached to the Spanish corps in different parts of the Peninsula. And even when they consented to the admission of two British regiments into Cadiz, it was only on a solemn promise that they should not remain within the walls of the fortress, and accordingly they were quartered at Isla, a large town or suburb to Cadiz, in the Isle de Leon.

On this occasion Mr. Frere, our ambassador, urged the necessity of our possessing some strong posts, as a naval point, where reinforcements could be sent, and from which a retreat might take place if necessary, and he stated to them, that if unfortunately the Spanish government should persist in their refusal, still they would not be complained of, or reproached by England, though at the same time he was forced to say, that if Spain should still remain insensible to what appeared to be so greatly conducive to its own interest, as well as essential to the interests of an English army in Spain, his Britannic Majesty would be obliged to withdraw for the present, and leave the contest between Spain and France to the sole military efforts and means of the Spaniards themselves. Still he promised that his Majesty would remain faithful to his engagements ; and he pointed out to them that Portugal had not hesitated, nor made the smallest objection, to the admission of an English force, so that a considerable army was at that very moment in possession of its principal fortresses, and of a convenient port for all necessary purposes ; and

he further pointed out to them, that as the British army with the assistance of the Portuguese might now be able not only to protect Portugal, but in favourable times and places to cover the adjacent provinces of Spain; so it would be proper, and indeed necessary, that there should be every facility afforded to the British troops wherever they might be engaged in the great and general cause.

The temporising conduct of the Central Junta had already given great uneasiness to Lord Wellington, who, from all that he had seen of their proceedings, had great reason to fear that in the distribution of the forces, as well as of the different civil and military officers, they paid less regard to the military defence of the country, and the important operations of the campaign, than to miserable intrigues and political objects of very trifling import.

The whole conduct of this Junta was, indeed, so childish and absurd, not to say treacherous, that it is not surprising a wish should arise to deprive them of all power, which, however, they were very unwilling to quit the possession of; and so anxious did they seem for its retention, to the exclusion of every other consideration, that it was observed they proceeded with the most studied procrastination in the measures preparatory to the calling of a *General Cortes* of the whole Spanish nation.

This important measure, however, this æra in the history of Spanish liberty, took place in March 1810, in opposition to all the intrigues of the interested members of the Junta, who at last became such objects not only of hatred and aversion, but even of contempt and derision, that they were actually afraid to appear in the day time in the streets of Cadiz, dreading the indignation of an insulted people.

The siege of Cadiz had before this been commenced by the French; for on the 6th of February the hostile army had commenced their blockade by occupying all the land side, with the towns and posts of St.

French atrocity.

Lucar, Rota, Port St. Mary's, Medina Sidonia, &c.* At first the siege was conducted by Joseph Buonaparte himself, he having his head-quarters at St. Mary's, a small town on the northern side of the bay, opposite to Cadiz, and from whence that city, for want of springs in the Isle de Leon, had always been supplied with water: fortunately, however, a pretty good spring was afterwards discovered at Cadiz, which supplied this deficiency.

At this period the French force amounted to about 50,000 men, and the garrison of Cadiz was not more than about 20,000, of which 4000 were English, with 1700 Portuguese. The English and Portuguese, however, were quartered in the Isle de Leon, under the command of Major-General Graham; here also was the Spanish army under the Duke of Albuquerque, whilst Cadiz itself was garrisoned by volunteers and the new levies. Indeed, whilst the English fleet possessed the bay of Cadiz, there was no danger to be apprehended for that city on any side except that of the Isle de Leon.†

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* The horrid atrocities inflicted by the French, in their approach to Cadiz, may be drawn by a fact stated by a Member in the British House of Commons, he being at Cadiz at that period. He assured the house that the town of St. Mary's being principally inhabited by shipwrights, whose mechanical assistance the French were in want of, the men were all sent to the Trocadero to assist in the works carrying on, while the women were assembled by beat of drum, and actually marched off to the French camp!

† Though it is not part of our plan to enter minutely into the operations before Cadiz, it may be proper to observe that the Isle de Leon is separated from the Continent of Spain by a very narrow channel (with the exception of a small isthmus,) not more than half a mile in breadth. The island, if so it may be called, is irregular in shape, and about ten miles in length, but no broader than three in any part. At its northwest extremity stands the city itself; and great part of the isle nearest to Spain, as well as part of Spain opposite to it, consists of low marshy ground, with a great number of *salinas*, or salt ponds. The highroad, or causeway, which joins it to the main land, will scarcely admit four men abreast; and that is defended by several very strong batteries. The road too was, even then, intersected with trenches

The further progress of the siege it is unnecessary to detail, particularly as even, in the early part of the year, the operations of the English army and the allies were not solely confined to the defence of Cadiz; and it was a part of our general plan, to act also on the offensive, by rousing, encouraging, and aiding, the natives, in a resistance to their invaders.

In the south, in particular, much was done by General Lacey, who, having disembarked at Algesiras with a small force of 5000 men, had it augmented so much in a few days as to amount to 12,000. In fact, all the inhabitants of the mountainous district, in the south of Andalusia, rose as if by common consent; and all the arms found at Ronda, which had been evacuated by the French, were distributed among them. The business now became very harassing to the French, who, calling these rude sons of liberty *insurgents*, had marched several parties against them, a murderous warfare being carried on by both sides. The Spaniards were, indeed, at last, obliged to retreat; but though these mountaineers were defeated in several actions, still they were not conquered. In fact, every British officer, who had opportunities of seeing these Spanish mountaineers, agreed in their description of the ferocious and savage appearance and air of these Alpujarese, or natives of the Alpujarra range. Every day they were bringing prisoners into Gibraltar, with the spoils of the Frenchmen they had killed, consisting of horses, helmets, uniforms, &c. and, indeed, many of themselves became completely metamorphosed, throwing off their
ancient

filled with water from several small rivulets, and on the borders of this causeway there were dykes and deep fosses. A deep trench upwards of 200 feet in width, in some measure insulating the *Isla*, was another defence; and the bridge, which in times of peace had formed the common communication, was now destroyed; and, in short, there were so many defences, both natural and artificial, that with common prudence the place (by those who knew it) was considered impregnable.

ancient dress of sheep skins, and accoutring themselves in French habiliments.

On the Catalonian side of Spain great hopes had been entertained that the patriotic exertions of the people would have been crowned with success; but unfortunately, on the 20th of February, Marshal Augereau* so completely defeated General O'Donnel

* This republican general, who had thus defeated General O'Donnel in the neighbourhood of Vich, and who once was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army intended against Ireland, is the bastard son of a fruit woman, and was born at Paris in 1749; but his mother afterwards marrying a green grocer, called Augereau, this hopeful son of love and mystery adopted the name of his new father.

His talents soon displayed themselves; for at an early age he was inscribed upon the registers of the police as one of the spies; but in 1769, when scarcely twenty years of age, having robbed a person whom he had arrested of his purse, the Lieutenant of the Police obliged him to enlist (with a kind of prophetic forethought) in the *Legion de Corse*, or what in England would be called the *Newgate Blues*, being composed of a set of desperate villains like himself, who, instead of being sent to the galleys, were embarked for Corsica in order to repress the rising spirit of liberty in that people.

On this philanthropic mission, and in this respectable corps, he no doubt acquired much of that knowledge which has fitted him for the new Corsican corps, which has entered as deeply into villany as his former legion, though under higher sounding titles.

Even the officers of this *Legion de Corse* were either adventurers, degraded noblemen, or dishonoured gentlemen; and at one time they had the honour of enrolling among them the once famous Count de Mirabeau, that amiable regenerator of France.

Whilst at Toulon, in 1772, Augereau deserted, was retaken, and this redoubtable Marshal of France now bears on his back perhaps a more faithful remembrancer than his conscience, the marks of 200 lashes which he received on that occasion. In 1778 he again deserted to the Prussians in Silesia; but, again deserting from that service, he returned to Paris, and the first proof he gave of his love of equality was the robbery of a jeweller's shop; but the police again laying hold of him, he was recommended to a retirement in the *Bicetre* for two years, when he had an opportunity of amusing himself with hard labour.

On coming out from this eclipse he went as a servant with a Swiss officer, the Baron de Sales, to Switzerland, and having married the daughter of a shoemaker at Neufchatel he there took up the profession of a fencing master: but even there his genius could not avoid displaying itself; so, after borrowing a horse and two watches from a watchmaker

nel in the neighbourhood of Vich in Catalonia, that all the efforts of the Patriots, in that quarter, were for some time paralysed.

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watchmaker of the name of Courvoisier, he set off upon the tour of Italy, leaving his wife as a pledge to the watchmaker.

Whilst in Italy he went through the usual scenes he had been accustomed to; and being now fitted to shine as an active citizen, he was gladly engaged by the revolutionary emissaries of Fayette, as a fit tool to assist them in their designs upon the peace and tranquillity of Italy.

Being at length banished from Italy he returned to France, and was soon promoted to the rank of General of the army of the Pyrennees in 1794, where his personal courage was certainly creditable to his character as a soldier; and in two years afterwards he went with the army of Italy, where he distinguished himself at Millesimo in April 1796, having carried the difficult defiles of that place, joined his friends Joubert and Menard, and by the promptitude of his manœuvres completely hemmed in a division of Austrians under General Proveyra.

At Bologna his conduct was horrible. After robbing all the convents and churches, he, in the name of the great nation, ordered every thing, under pain of death, to be at his disposal. He set his soldiers an example of indecency, plunder, and debauchery, whenever it was in his power; and the sacredness of innocence, protected by their vows to their God, and their renunciation of the world, was violated by him in the most scandalous manner. In particular he in one night put sixteen young nuns into requisition for himself and his staff; the tears of youth, the pangs of conscience, and the prayers of virtue, availed nothing; they were, by a drunken soldiery, carried away almost lifeless from the retreats and cells of religion to the infamous beds of vice; to endure the horrid and disgusting embraces of cruel crime in power.

Four of these devoted victims to the lust of Republicans afterwards destroyed themselves, six lost their reason, and six others their health.

When in 1796 the town of Lugo rose against their French tyrants, Augereau went there to re establish order. "To inspire the Italians with terror for French Republican justice," he gave up the place to pillage for three hours, and widows were violated by the side of their murdered husbands, and virgins ravished between the butchered and mutilated carcasses of their fathers and brothers.

To finish this scene of true French fraternity, the principal church was ordered to be cleared; and at night all females above ten and under forty were ordered, *under pain of death*, to present themselves naked at a civic fete given by Augereau in this church.

The inhuman and sacrilegious abominations which took place on that night were described in a work published in Germany, but they are not fit for the eye of an English reader.

It is time now to look at the operations of the French army in the north of Spain, and of the army of Portugal, as it was called. As these operations led to the glorious repulse at Busaco, the principal feature of Lord Wellington's campaign in the year 1810.

Early in the year a corps under the command of Junot laid siege to Astorga, and held other places in subjection by a judicious distribution of garrisons; whilst a strong division, under General Bounet, took possession of Oviedo, the capital, extended itself over the whole province of Asturias, and even threatened to penetrate into Galicia. The Guerillas, indeed, kept up a constant warfare against the latter general; but still he was strong enough to have advanced into Galicia, had he not received orders to wait in his then positions until further successes should justify his advance.

About the beginning of March the French corps under the command of Marshal Ney, that under Loison, as well as the division of Kellerman, were in Old-Castile, and in positions on the Tormes, with their advanced posts on the Agueda: whilst the advanced posts of the British army, under Brigadier-General Craufurd,* were likewise on the latter river, and between Agueda and the Coa.

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Let us remember, however, that whilst Augereau and his wretches committed those atrocities, he was still the friend of his Commander-in-Chief, the Corsican Emperor, who seems to have advanced him in proportion to the cruelties he practised.

Such is the picture of *one French Marshal*; but it is unnecessary to pursue his career any further.

* Brigadier-General James Catten Craufurd, who died at Abrantes on the 25th of September, though not killed in battle, may yet truly be said to have lost his life in the service of his country; as his brigade being attached to the division under General Hill he was constantly employed in the most active and anxious service; and though his health had suffered repeatedly and greatly from fatigue, and from the disorders incident to the climate, he could not be prevailed on to quit the brigade during the active part of the campaign, and on the eve

On the 19th the French attacked the post at Barba del Puerco, which was occupied by four companies of the 95th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Beckwith.

Immediately opposite Barbe del Puerco, on the other side of the river, stands St. Felices; and between these two villages is the only bridge on the Agueda below Ciudad Rodrigo. This was the only spot where the enemy could cross the river; for the recent rains had filled it so as to render it no longer fordable.

At the latter village the enemy collected a brigade of infantry, and crossed the bridge with six hundred men after dark, keeping the remainder on the other side. These followed the picquet of the 95th up from the bridge, and immediately made their attack, but were repulsed with the loss of two officers, and seven men killed, and six prisoners, besides arms.

This little affair, though short, was brilliant, and highly creditable to Lieutenant-Colonel Beckwith, whose little party only lost one officer (Lieutenant Mercer) and three men killed, and ten wounded.

On the 12th of April Astorga fell, when 3500 Spaniards, with English firelocks and wearing English clothes, laid down their arms and were conducted to Barrize, and from thence into France. The whole

eve of a battle. To this military feeling, to this strong sense of duty, to this soldier like determination, he fell a sacrifice; and so closed his short, but honourable, career, not yet quite five-and-thirty.

At the age of sixteen he entered into the army, and first joined his regiment in Canada, and from that time to the hour of his death devoting himself entirely to his profession; he was in constant service in America, at Corsica, the Cape of Good Hope, when he was aid-du-camp to Lord Macartney, afterwards in the north of Germany, and then to Portugal, where he was present in every action; and also in the memorable retreat of Sir John Moore.

His private character, in every relation in life, was highly amiable; and that, and little more, he has left to his amiable widow and helpless orphans.

French siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.

whole number of prisoners taken were, however, about 5000, (besides 1500 killed during the siege,) and there were also twenty pieces of cannon captured.

Some jealousies at this period seem to have existed between the French generals; for it is said that Marshal Ney, who was then investing Ciudad Rodrigo, had a considerable degree of apprehension that General Junot, between whom and himself there was some misunderstanding, would not co-operate with him for the reduction of the city, with all the cordiality and promptitude which the circumstance demanded: but Junot, notwithstanding, joined him after the capture of Astorga, and in the mean time Marshal Massena* set out from Paris in order to take the command of the army appointed for the conquest of Portugal, forming a force of 80,000 men.

The siege of Ciudad Rodrigo had long been retarded and obstructed by heavy rains, bad roads, and the difficulties in the way of the transportation of stores and provisions, considerably increased by Lord Wellington with the allied army being in its vicinity; but at length the French trenches were opened on the 15th of June, just as Massena had arrived to take the command of the army.

Situated as Lord Wellington was, he could not with propriety advance for its relief; his manœuvres being strictly defensive, and his army totally unable to cope with that of Massena as assailants, though his superior skill and the energy of his troops soon after enabled him to choose and to defend the position of Busaco, with additional honour to the British arms,

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* Before Massena left Salamanca he published a proclamation, styling himself King of Portugal, and promising, on his royal word, to drive all the English into the sea in less than three months; and declaring that he would hang every British officer found in the Portuguese service!

In consequence the city was completely invested by a body of troops under Ney on the right bank of the Agueda, and by another under Junot on the left; whilst a detachment was sent from the latter corps towards St. Felix to watch and check the motions of the allies, and to cover the operations of the siege.

In the morning of the 25th of June, forty-six pieces of heavy artillery were opened at once on this ill-fated city, soon proving too heavy for the Spanish fire, though the garrison, who were well supplied with artillery, served their batteries extremely well, and poured such a shower of shot and shells upon the assailants that, in order to cover their advances, they found it necessary to attack two convents, which were not easily given up, but taken and retaken several times, until at last they were partly burnt, after which the French were able to retain them.

Though possession was obtained soon after of the suburbs of St. Francis, yet it was not without obstinate resistance; and though on the 28th, the works were so much damaged that the French sent in a summons, yet both the garrison and inhabitants, roused by the monks to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, appeared determined to resist to the last extremity. But a breach was at length made on the 9th of July, when the explosion of a mine unfortunately threw the whole counterscarp into the ditch below the breach, then about 18 fathoms in width; and on the 10th in the evening the whole French army advancing to the assault, the garrison was obliged to surrender at discretion. Even the French were struck with the appearance of desolation and ruin, which was seen on all sides; indeed scarcely a house was to be met with that was entire, or exempt from some marks of the horrors of the siege. Upwards of 2000 lost their lives, and the remainder of the garrison, to the number of 7000, were obliged

to deposit their arms in the arsenal where the French found 125 pieces of cannon, mostly bronze, with 200,000 pounds weight of powder, and more than one million of musquet cartridges, as stated by Massena in his dispatches.

The few brave survivors were ordered to be sent to France; but it is said, that scarcely one half ever reached that country; for though many died of fatigue, yet more, when they had become so weak as to be incapable of keeping pace with their escort, were shot!

After the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, parties of reconnoissance were sent out from the French to examine the positions of Lord Wellington's army whose advanced posts now fell back upon the main body, as absolute offensive operations were not to be undertaken against a force so numerous as that of the invading army, which consisted of nearly 110,000 men, according to the French account, which, even if true, adds more to the fame of his Lordship in having kept at bay such an overwhelming force, and obliging them at last to retreat.

The distribution of this force will serve to elucidate the important events now about to take place. General Loison with 15,000 men invested Almeida, whilst the remainder of Ney's corps, about 10,000, were at Fort de la Conception. About three miles N. W. from Ciudad Rodrigo, at St. Felix, was Junot with 25,000 men, whilst a force to the same amount was in Ciudad Rodrigo, and its immediate vicinity. These three corps were within two days' march of the allied army, and some part of them not more than seven or eight miles distant, whilst Massena, the Commander-in-Chief, was at Valdemula, a village near Ciudad Rodrigo, which a few weeks before had been occupied by Lord Wellington. Kellerman was on the north of Portugal, and threatened Oporto with 12,000 men; and Regnier* menaced Alentejo in the

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south

* Regnier is considered in France as one of their best informed officers, both in the theory and practice of war; and it is said, that, for this

south with about 18,000; whilst the remaining small divisions occupied such posts as were most convenient for procuring forage, &c.

With such an overwhelming force it is not surprising that Massena and his Imperial master should have considered the conquest of Portugal as certain; yet even such a force, we shall now see, was baffled by the superior skill and address of the British General, whose defensive conduct in this situation seems more worthy of admiration than even his most brilliant victories.

It may be necessary to premise, without going very far back, that ever since the retreat after the battle of Talavera, in the preceding year, the plan of Lord Wellington had been to avoid any further active co-operation with the Spanish army, until it was better organized; but, at the same time he resolved not to retire from Spain, unless obliged by absolute necessity. Should that even be the case, still he determined, if possible, to make a stand on the Portuguese frontier, where his army would be as serviceable to the cause of Spain as if actually in that country; and, accordingly, he took post between Merida and Badajoz for some time, until he found it necessary to retire for the defence of Portugal.

In the early part of the present year (1810) the British army was principally about Lisbon and on the north side of the Tagus, when having gained a fresh stock of health, by good quarters, they were
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this reason alone, has Buonaparte been induced not to make him a Marshal, fearful of losing his useful services in his situation as head of the staff, particularly with respect to the commissariat, the conduct of sieges, &c.

He is by birth a Swiss; and, entering the army, as a soldier, and not as a politician, at the beginning of the revolution was held in high estimation by Pichegru. With Moreau also, he was a favourite; yet General Sarrazin asserts that he was deficient in the field, and though brave, yet wanting that presence of mind so necessary for a General.

Regnier commanded at the battle of Maida when Sir John Stuart snatched the laurel he expected to gain.

able in February to occupy an extended line from Santarem on the Tagus to Oporto on the Douro, including Lamego, Viseu,* Coimbra, and Abrantes, having been joined by the Portuguese troops so ably disciplined, by the gallant and indefatigable Marshal Beresford: whilst General Hill was in advance with a considerable body of cavalry, on the banks of the Guadiana, in order to check the approach of the enemy, who had appeared before Badajoz.

During the operations of the French against Ciudad Rodrigo, the British and allied army was cantoned in five distinct bodies; one was at Celorico, consisting of about 6000 men under General Spencer; General Hill had 8000 between the Tagus and the Guadiana; General Cole had about 10,000 at Guarda, which was the principal post; at Pinhel General Picton lay with 4000; and General Craufurd was stationed in advance, between Guarda and the French army.

On the 4th of July, the enemy passed the Agueda in force, and obliged Brigadier-General Craufurd to fall back with his advanced guard to the neighbourhood of the fort of La Concepcion, which had previously been occupied by a part of the third division of infantry.

In this movement, however, the enemy were not allowed to act quietly; but were annoyed by repeated skirmishing with considerable effect by the 1st Hussars,

* Viseu, with its districts, includes the see of a bishop, and twenty-two small towns, the whole population amounting to about 95,000 before the country was laid waste by the French armies.

Viseu itself is situated about the centre of the province, between the Vouga and Mondego, and is of very ancient date, being called Vicontium by the Romans, the Proconsul Decius Brutus having founded it in the time of Sertorius. Even yet two towers of Roman architecture are in existence; but it possesses another specimen of antiquity which, if not so old, is perhaps more curious. This is the tomb of the ill fated Gothic, or Visi-Gothic, King Rodrigo, who having escaped from the battle of Xeres, with the loss of his army and his crown, became a monk at this place.

Spirited skirmish.

sars, and by the 3d battalion of Portuguese chasseurs, who, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Elder, displayed great steadiness in frequent rencontres with the French.

On the 11th of July his lordship received intelligence, of Ciudad Rodrigo having surrendered to the French army under Marshal Ney, who, having made a large and practicable breach in the place, had taken every measure for a storm, when the garrison surrendered to his terms of capitulation,* as already noticed.

Whilst the enemy were in such force, Lord Wellington could only watch their movements, and that so closely that frequent skirmishes took place between the picquets of the two armies; particularly on the 11th of July, whilst the head quarters were at Alverca, where, in a little affair, the enemy lost two officers and thirty one men, and twenty nine horses, all taken, or killed; when the British loss was Lieutenant-Colonel Talbot and eight men of the 14th Light Dragoons killed, and twenty three wounded.

These little affairs, though of no importance to the general system of warfare, were yet useful in keeping up the spirit of our troops, and in proving a salutary check to the impertinence of the enemy.

The advanced posts of the British army under Brigadier-General Craufurd, remained in the villages, near the fort of La Concepcion, until the 21st of

* The enemy had taken up their ground before Ciudad Rodrigo on the 26th of April; they invested it completely on the 11th of June, and opened their fire on it, on the 24th of that month. Adverting to the nature and position of the place, to the deficiency and defects of its works, to the advantages which the enemy had in their attack upon it, and to the numbers and formidable equipment by which it was attacked, Lord Wellington considered the defence of Ciudad Rodrigo to have been most honourable to the Governor, Don Andres Hervasti, and his garrison; and to have been equally creditable to the arms of Spain, with the celebrated defence of other places, by which that nation had rendered itself illustrious, during the present contest for independence.

Attack of the advanced posts.

of July, when the advance of the enemy in force obliged the cavalry to retire towards Almeida, and the fort of La Concepcion was consequently destroyed.

From the 21st until the 24th, General Craufurd still continued to occupy his main position (in advance of the British army then at Alverca) near Almeida, with his left within eight-hundred yards of the fort, and his right extending towards Junca. But the enemy attacking him on the 24th, shortly after daylight, with a very large body of cavalry and infantry, he was obliged to retire across the bridge, over the Coa. In this point of retreat the troops suffered much; but, though the enemy made three efforts to storm the bridge, they were repulsed in them all.*

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* Colonel Craufurd's own statement said, that the French advanced to attack the light division, with between three and four thousand cavalry, a considerable number of guns, and a large body of infantry. On the first appearance of their heads of columns, the British cavalry and brigade of artillery attached to the division advanced to support the picquets; and Captain Ross, with four guns, was for some time engaged with those attached to the enemy's cavalry, which were of much larger calibre.

As the immense superiority of the enemy's force displayed itself, the whole advance fell back gradually towards the fortress of Almeida, upon the right of which the infantry of the division was posted, having its left in some inclosures near the windmill, about eight hundred yards from the place, and its right to the Coa, in a very broken and extensive position, which it was absolutely necessary to occupy, in order to cover the passage of the cavalry and artillery, through the long defile, leading to the bridge.

After this was effected, the infantry retired by degrees, and in as good order as was possible, in ground so extremely intricate.

A position close in front of the bridge was maintained as long as it was necessary, to give time to the troops which had passed to take up one behind the river; and the bridge was afterwards defended with the greatest gallantry, though with considerable loss, particularly by the 43d, and part of the 95th regiments.

Towards the afternoon the firing ceased; and, after it was dark, General Craufurd marched his whole body from the Coa, and retired to Carvelhal.

The British troops certainly behaved with great gallantry; but their loss was severe, both in killed, wounded, and prisoners, the latter of whom,

The retreat of the British advance enabled the enemy to open their fire upon Almeida, late on Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning of the 26th of July, and the place was surrendered in the course of the night of the 27th.*

Lord

whom, amounting to 83, were taken in a charge of the enemy's cavalry, just after the British cavalry and guns had begun to retire.

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Hull, Captain E. Cameron, and two Lieutenants, were killed ; and the whole loss amounted to upwards of 420.

* A Letter from Colonel Cox, explanatory of the fall of Almeida, is here deserving of a place.

" It appears that he was reduced to the necessity of capitulating on the 27th at ten o'clock at night, in consequence of the unfortunate explosion of the great magazine of powder in the castle, and the small magazines contiguous to it, by which dreadful accident he was deprived of the whole of his artillery and musquet ammunition, with the exception of a few made up cartridges, which remained in some of the expense magazines on the ramparts, and thirty-nine barrels of powder which were in the laboratory.

" Upwards of half of the detachment of artillery, and a great number of infantry soldiers, besides several of the inhabitants, were destroyed by the effect of this terrible explosion. Many of the guns were dismounted upon the ramparts, the works most materially injured, and a general dismay spread amongst the troops and inhabitants of the place.

" In this situation, the difficulties occasioned by the explosion were much increased by the infamous conduct of Da Costa, the Portuguese Governor, and of Barreros commanding their artillery. The former, indeed, had, *until the commencement of the enemy's fire*, acted with much zeal and propriety ; but, as soon as that began, shut himself up in the bomb proofs, and after the explosion, from personal fear, and to avoid any further firing, took advantage of the consternation and confusion, which must be ever attendant on such a case, to counteract Colonel Cox's attempt to hold out at least some time longer. The Major of artillery too had acted well during the siege, but after the explosion appears to have added treachery to cowardice ; and, to gain favour with the enemy, communicated to him the real state of the garrison, and that it had no ammunition whatever left, which induced Massena to refuse the terms demanded by the Colonel.

" In this distressing situation, Colonel Cox had no alternative but to use his best endeavours for the most honourable terms he could procure ; and it is pleasing to observe, that, with the before mentioned exceptions, the garrison, both British and Portuguese, behaved remarkably well ; but Massena infamously broke the capitulation, and actually detained upwards of 600 of the Militia as *Pioneers* !"

Movements of the British army.

Lord Wellington seems to have been disappointed by the speedy fall of this place; for in his public dispatches he expressed not only his regret, but his inability to account for so trifling a defence. An explosion in the town had, indeed, been heard at the advanced posts during the course of the day on the 27th, and it was observed that the steeple of the church was destroyed, and many houses unroofed by the bombardment; but although a telegraphic communication had been established with the Governor, yet the weather not permitting it to be used during the Sunday, and greatest part of the next day, Lord Wellington on its clearing up, had the mortification to see that the besieged and the assailants were in communication. As soon as he was certain of the fall of the place, he moved the infantry of the British army again into the valley of the Mondego,* keeping a division upon Guarda, and the outposts of the cavalry at Alverca.

In the morning of the 21st of August, the enemy attacked the British picquets twice, but feebly, and were immediately repulsed; yet in the afternoon they obliged Sir Stapleton Cotton to draw in his posts from beyond Fraxedas.†

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* “The valley of Mondego, is in some parts abrupt and inaccessible, with the river of that name foaming over great masses of stone of very singular conformation, apparently caused by the course of the water. It is not here, however, navigable. Our men calculated the descent to be a league, and the ascent of the opposite mountain to be at least two leagues. On the immediate bank of the river stands the village of Miserella, I think the sweetest romantic seclusion I ever beheld; a valley of prodigious extent on either side, bounded by mountains, and abounding in every luxury—the oak, chesnut, and most other forest trees, which are known in Britain; and the orange, the pine, the arbutus, and an infinity of others, in full foliage and luxuriance of fruit. It was really winter on the tops of the mountains, and midsummer in the valley.” *Journal of an Officer.*

† A brilliant little affair took place at this period, and deserves notice.

On the 22d of August in the morning, a troop of the 13th light dragoons

Advance towards Coimbra.

Lord Wellington now discovered Massena's plan, which was gradually unfolding itself. He seemed determined to turn the left of the allied army; but Lord Wellington, to check him, retired through the valley of Mondego, when Massena, adopting a new route, threw himself in the road which leads from Viseu to Coimbra, in hopes of getting possession of the resources presented by that city and its vicinity, and thence to proceed to Lisbon. Lord Wellington immediately determined to cover Coimbra; not with the intention of maintaining that post, but in order to give the inhabitants time to retire with their effects.*

Though Massena had concentrated the greatest part of his forces at Viseu on the 21st of September, yet a halt of three days was absolutely necessary in order to give time for the bringing up the baggage and the artillery; and it was during these three days that Lord Wellington was enabled to execute the judicious and brilliant manœuvre of passing from the left to the right of the Mondego, and then taking up
his

dragoons, and one of the 4th Portuguese dragoons, forming a squadron under the command of Captain White of the 13th, whilst reconnoitring at Ladovera, fell in with a patrol of the enemy's dragoons, belonging to the 2d corps under General Regnier, and consisting of one captain, two subalterns, and about sixty men. Captain White fortunately succeeded in coming up with them, when he immediately charged and *overturned* them, taking prisoners two lieutenants, three serjeants, six corporals, one trumpeter, fifty privates, and about fifty horses; the captain being also a prisoner, but escaping during the bustle on foot: and all this without the loss of a man on our side, and six only of the enemy being wounded.

* The humane and judicious conduct of Lord Wellington, by this rapid and well conducted movement, gave such offence to Massena, that in a letter which the latter wrote on his arrival at Viseu, judging probably of English conduct by what the French themselves had done, he asserted that he had passed through a country and "through ways bristling with rocks, and a mere desert; not a soul to be seen. Every thing removed, destroyed, or abandoned. The English had the barbarity to order all who should remain at their homes to be shot. Old men, women, and children, every one flying *before us*."

From this curious specimen of the epistolary, we may judge at which nation the Portuguese were most terrified.

his position on the Sierra de Busaco.* At that period the head-quarters of the British army were at Celorico; but Lord Wellington found it prudent to retire towards Viseu, on which the French army under Massena continued to advance from Celorico upon the latter position. During these operations, the different corps of Portuguese militia, and ordenanza, were employed upon his flanks and rear, and Colonel Trant with his division attacked the escort of the military chest and reserve artillery near Tojal on the 20th of September. In this affair Colonel Trant succeeded so far as to take about one hundred prisoners; but the enemy collected a force from his front and rear, which obliged the colonel to retire towards the Douro. Notwithstanding this, the exertions of the different detached corps were so great, that Lord Wellington felt himself justified in saying that the enemy's communication with Almeida, in his rear, was not only cut off, but that he possessed only the ground on which his army stood.

In this juncture, Lord Wellington found it necessary, about the middle of September, to adopt measures to collect his army in the vicinity of Coimbra,†

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and,

* Busaco is a position in a mountainous country of some extent; indeed the whole province of Beira, of which Coimbra is the capital, is almost entirely surrounded by a chain of mountains.

The eastern range, along which are the towns of Guarda, Celorico, Trancoso, and Viseu, is opposed to the Spanish frontier; whilst the northern range extends across the whole kingdom of Portugal, and separates Beira from the northern provinces. The river Mondego nearly crosses the interior in a westerly course, and therefore parallel to the northern range. From the right bank of this river there also springs a small northerly chain of mountains. This chain is the Sierra de Busaco, exactly on which position Lord Wellington awaited the arrival and attack of the French.

† Coimbra, like almost all the great cities in Portugal, is built on the declivity of a hill, which in this instance is of considerable steepness; only a small part of the town being situated on the plain. The Mondego, in its wide bed, winds along in front close to the hill, and over it is a long stone bridge. The traveller does not perceive the town

Takes post at Busaco.

and, if possible, to prevent the enemy from getting possession of that town.

Whilst employed in perfecting this manœuvre, the enemy's advanced guard on the 21st pushed on to St. Cambadao at the junction of the rivers Criz and Dao; and Brigadier-General Pack retired across the former, and joined Brigadier-General Craufurd at Martagoa, having destroyed the bridges over those two rivers.

The enemy's advanced guard crossed the Criz, having repaired the bridge on the 23d; and the whole of the 6th corps was collected on the other side of the river; on which his lordship withdrew the cavalry through the Sierra de Busaco, with the exception of three squadrons, as the ground was unfavourable for the operations of that species of force.

On the 25th, the whole of the 6th and of the 2d corps of the enemy crossed the Criz, in the neighbourhood of St. Cambadao; and Brigadier-General Craufurd's division and Brigadier-General Pack's brigade retired to the position which had been fixed upon for the army on the top of Sierra de Busaco. These troops were followed in this movement by the whole of the corps of Ney and Regnier, but the manœuvre was conducted by Brigadier-General Craufurd with great regularity, and the troops took their position without sustaining any loss of importance.

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town until he descends into the valley; but then it forms a fine and surprising view, in the midst of a charming country, which it adorns with innumerable monasteries and churches, along the declivity of the mountain.

But he has no sooner entered Coimbra, than all his expectations are disappointed; for the streets are extremely narrow, crooked, full of angles, ill-paved, very dirty, and frequently so steep that it is difficult to climb them. There is a single broad street on the plain; but even that is not inhabited, by the rich because it is deemed unhealthy in the summer.

The Mondego swells in winter, overflows its banks, and in summer leaves marshes, which, as in all warm countries, produce pestilential vapours.

Positions of the British.

The 4th Portuguese Cacadores which had retired on the right of the other troops, and the picquets of the 3d division of infantry, which were posted at San Antonio de Cantaro, under Major Smith of the 45th, were engaged with the advance of Regnier's corps in the afternoon of the 25th; in which affair the Cacadores gained great credit for their steadiness and gallantry.*

As the enemy's whole army was on the ridge of the Mondego, and as it was evident that he intended to force the British position, Lieutenant-General Hill crossed that river, by a short movement to his left, on the morning of the 26th, leaving Colonel Le Cor with his brigade in the Sierra de Marcella to cover the right of the army; and Major-General Fane with his division of Portuguese cavalry, and the 13th light dragoons in front of the Alva, to observe and check the movements of the enemy's cavalry on the Mondego.

With this exception, the whole British army was collected upon the Sierra de Busaco, with the cavalry observing the plain in the rear of its left, and also the road leading from Martagoa to Oporto, through the

* To understand thoroughly the subsequent occurrences connected with the brilliant affair of *Busaco*, it is necessary to premise that the *Sierra de Busaco* is a lofty ridge of mountains extending from the Mondego about eight miles in a northerly direction. At the highest point of the ridge, about two miles from the termination, are the convent and garden of Busaco. This Sierra is connected by a mountainous tract of country with the Sierra de Caramula, which extends in a north easterly direction beyond Viseu, and separates the valley of the Mondego from the valley of the Douro, on the left of the Mondego. Nearly in a line with the Sierra de Busaco is another ridge of the same description, which is called the Sierra de Marcella, covered by the river Alva, and connected by other mountainous tracts with the Sierra d' Estrella.

All the roads to Coimbra from the eastward lead over one or other of these Sierras; and they are very difficult for the passage of an army; the approach to the top of the ridge on both sides, being very mountainous.

the mountainous tract which connects the Sierra de Busaco with the Sierra de Caramula.

The eighth corps joined the enemy in front on the 26th, but did not make any serious attack on that day; however, the light troops on both sides were engaged throughout the line.

But on the 27th, the **GRAND ATTACK** was made: for, at six in the morning of that day, the enemy commenced two desperate assaults on the British position; one on the right, the other on the left, of the highest point of the Sierra.

The attack on the right was made by two divisions of the 2d corps, on that part of the Sierra occupied by the 3d division of infantry. One division of French infantry arrived at the top of the ridge, when it was attacked in the most gallant manner by the 88th regiment under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace; and the 45th regiment under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Meade, and by the 8th Portuguese regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas, directed by Major-General Picton.*

These

* *General Picton*, who so distinguished himself in this action, is a native of Wales, and son of the late general so well known in the American war, and who afterwards we believe held an elevated situation in his majesty's household.

There never was perhaps a man more hardly used than this gallant officer, for his conduct at Trinidad, whilst governor of that island; indeed so numerous were the charges against him, sixty-six in number, that government, though they did not supersede him, yet thought proper to put the government of the island in commission, the commissioners being Colonel Fullerton, the Naval Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, and Colonel Picton himself, who still retained the rank of military commander-in-chief in the island. Yet when the privy council came to examine those sixty-six charges, *all* except one were dismissed, and that was for signing the order for the *question*, or torture to be applied to Louisa Calderon.

It is enough here to observe, that certainly torture is against both the spirit and letter of English law, and English humanity; but, by the capitulation

These three corps advanced with the bayonet, and drove the enemy's division from the advantageous ground which they had obtained.

The other division of the 2d corps attacked further on the right, by the road leading from St. Antonio de Cantaro, also in front of Major-General Picton's division. This division of the assailants was repulsed before it could reach the top of the ridge, by the 74th regiment under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel French, and the brigade of Portuguese infantry under the command of Colonel Champelmont, directed by Colonel Mackinnon.

Major-General Leith* almost moved to his left, to the

capitulation of Trinidad, the governor was obliged to abide by the Spanish law; had he refused the order, his conduct would have been *illegal*. We mean not, however, to justify this proceeding in an English governor; but it ought to be recollected that the accused person was suspected of having been false to the man with whom she cohabited, and of having assisted her paramour in robbing him; so that much of the clamour excited on the occasion was certainly not founded in truth.

In saying thus much, indeed, we are merely the advocates of truth without attempting justification, or saying how far an English governor might have ventured to depart from a *strict legal course* on such an occasion.

* General Leith, who was so distinguished in this action, is another of those gallant Scots, who have so often risked their lives in defence of liberty and humanity. He is a native of Aberdeen, and has long been considered throughout the army as a most accomplished officer. His rank in life and personal qualities have united him with one of our most elevated and ancient families, he having married Lady Augusta Fitzgerald, sister to his Grace the Duke of Leinster. General Leith has been particularly noticed in the army for a singular circumstance. When a very young officer, he was engaged in some expedition in India, where he was badly wounded, nay left for dead, on the troops being forced to re-embark, but was observed by a soldier who returned through the surf, and carried him off from the beach, just as the last boat was pushing off. Several years afterwards, when the general commanded in Dublin, he saw an aged man in distressed circumstances, whose face he thought he recollected, and on enquiry found it to be the very man who had saved his life!

Gratitude, aided by generosity, immediately provided for the veteran.

the support of Major-General Picton, and aided in the defeat of the enemy on this post, with the 3d battalion of the royals, the 1st, and 2d battalions of the 38th regiment.*

On the left the enemy attacked, with three divisions of infantry of the 6th corps, that part of the Sierra occupied by the left division commanded by Brigadier-General Craufurd, and by the brigade of Portuguese infantry commanded by Brigadier-General Pack.† One division of infantry only made any progress towards the top of the hill, and they were immediately charged with the bayonet by Brigadier-General Craufurd with the 48th, 52d, and 95th regiments, and the 3d Portuguese Cacadores, and driven down with immense loss.

Brigadier-General Clement's brigade of Portuguese infantry, which was in reserve, was now moved up to support the right of Brigadier-General Craufurd's division; and a battalion of the 19th Portuguese regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Macbean, made a most gallant and successful charge upon a body of another division of the enemy, which was endeavouring to penetrate in that quarter.

Besides these general attacks the light troops of the two armies were engaged throughout the whole of the 27th.

In the evening of the 27th the enemy were beaten on all sides; and his loss of officers and men was enormous. The Generals of Division, Merle and Maucere were wounded, and General Simon‡ was taken prisoner

* In these attacks all the leading officers are stated to have particularly distinguished themselves; and Lord Wellington observed that he never witnessed a more gallant attack than that made by the British 38th and 51th, and the 8th Portuguese regiments on the enemy's division which had reached the ridge of the Sierra.

† General Pack is a countryman of the gallant Wellington, and has often distinguished himself on many occasions, particularly at Buenos Ayres; and in every part of service has always been exemplary.

‡ General Simon was brought prisoner to England, when he was sent to

Operations after the action.

prisoner by the 52d regiment, along with three colonels, thirty-three other officers, and two hundred and fifty men. The assailants left 2000 dead upon the field of battle, and their loss in wounded was stated both by prisoners and deserters, to be immense.

So signal was the defeat, so severe the lesson taught, that the enemy did not attempt to renew his attack on the succeeding day, except by some slight skirmishing with his light troops ; but he was seen to move a large body of infantry and cavalry from the left of his centre to the rear, from whence his cavalry was observed to march in the road which leads from Martagoa over the mountains towards Oporto.

Lord Wellington having thought it probable that he would endeavour to turn the left of the British by that road, had directed Colonel Trant, with his division of militia, to march to Sardao, with the intention that he should occupy those mountains; but unfortunately he was sent round to Oporto by the general officer commanding in the north in consequence of a small detachment of the enemy being in possession of St. Pedro de Sul; and, notwithstanding the efforts which he made to arrive in time, he did not reach Sardao till the 28th at night, after the enemy was in possession of the ground.

As his Lordship judged it probable that in the
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to Odiham in Hampshire upon his parole of honour; but this he thought proper to break, and soon after endeavoured to secrete himself in the metropolis, in hopes of making his escape to France. But his intentions were even more extended; for it was soon after discovered by the transport-board that a correspondence had been established between General Simon together with a French surgeon, and the French government, for the purpose of liberating French prisoners on their parole. Strict search was therefore made after the fugitives, and they were found, in January 1812, in the back kitchen of a house in Pratt-street, Camden-town, then kept by a French woman. A number of other fugitive prisoners were also discovered in consequence of the search, some of whom were sent to Bridewell, others to a hulk at Chatham, whilst Simon and the doctor were committed to the castle of Dunbarton in Scotland.

course of the night of the 28th, the enemy would throw his whole army upon that road by which he could avoid the Sierra de Busaco, and reach Coimbra by the high road to Oporto; and thus the British army would have been exposed to be cut off from that town, or to a general action on less favourable ground; and as he also considered that he had reinforcements in his rear, he was induced to withdraw from the Sierra de Busaco towards Coimbra.

As Lord Wellington expected, Massena did break up in the mountains at eleven at night of the 28th, and he made the march to the left of the range of mountains, certainly in spite of any opposition that could be thrown in his way, owing principally to the unfortunate circumstance of the delay of Colonel Trant's arrival at Sardinio.

In consequence of this, although Lord Wellington did not absolutely succeed in effecting those objects which he had in view in passing the Mondego, and in occupying the Sierra de Busaco, yet he did not regret his having done so. In fact, he considered this movement as affording him a favourable opportunity of shewing the enemy the description of troops of which his army was composed; he also was pleased with the opportunity of thus bringing the Portuguese levies into action with the enemy for the first time, in an advantageous situation; and indeed he confessed that they had proved that the trouble which had been taken with them had not been thrown away, and that they were even then worthy of contending in the same ranks with British troops, in that interesting cause which he considered them as affording the best hopes of saving.

To shew that his Lordship's expectations were correct, and that his warm praise of the conduct of the British troops was well founded, it is only necessary to examine the state of the losses of the allied army during the gallant affair of Busaco, when compared with those of the enemy.

The

The sum total was of the British, a major, 4 other officers, and 102 serjeants and rank and file killed; 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 5 majors, 27 other officers, and 458 serjeants and rank and file wounded; with one captain, 1 serjeant, and 29 rank and file missing.

Of the Portuguese, the loss amounted to 4 captains, 2 subalterns, and 84 rank and file killed; 1 colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 18 subalterns, 9 serjeants, and 478 rank and file wounded; and 20 missing.

A loss equal to that of the British, and proving that they had been as warmly engaged.*

Lord Wellington proudly boasted in his public dispatches, that throughout the contest upon the Sierra, and in all the previous marches, his army had conducted itself in the most regular manner. Accordingly all the operations were performed with ease, the soldiers suffered no privations, underwent no unnecessary fatigue, there was no loss of stores, and the whole body of troops were in the highest spirits. Some days after the action it was ascertained that Massena's advanced post was at Avelans in the road from Oporto to Coimbra; and on the 29th of September the whole of his army was seen in march through the mountains; whilst at the same date, or the day following, the British and Portuguese allied troops were already in the low country between the Sierra de Busaco and the sea; and the whole of it,

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with

* To mention every officer who shed his blood on this important day, would exceed our limits; but those who *fell*, besides the wounded, were Major Smith, Captain Urquhart, and Lieutenant Ousely of the 45th foot; Ensign Williams of the 74th; and Lieutenant Henry Johnson of the 88th.

† In speaking of the Portuguese discipline, we must not omit to mention the due praise given by Lord Wellington to Marshal Beresford. To him exclusively, under the Portuguese government, he considered solely due the merit of having raised, formed, disciplined, and equipped, the Portuguese army, which had thus shewn itself capable of engaging, and assisting in the defeat of the enemy.

with the exception of the advanced guard, were on the 30th of that month on the left of the Mondego.

On the 20th of October the whole allied army were at Pero Negro; but previous to that, in the early part of the month, the enemy were principally employed in reconnoitring the position of the British troops, and in strengthening their own posts. In effecting the former object they had on several occasions skirmished with the outposts, who on all occasions conducted themselves extremely well. On the 14th they attacked, with infantry supported by artillery, a small detachment of the 71st regiment, which formed the advanced guard of Lieutenant-General Sir Spencer Brent's division, near Sobral de Montagaree, in order to cover one of their reconnoitring parties. This detachment, having the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, and Lieutenant-Colonel Reynell at their head, charged the enemy in the most gallant style, and drove them into the town.

The whole of the 8th corps d'armée, however, and part of the 6th, having arrived on the ground near Sobral on that evening, Lord Wellington therefore thought it necessary to withdraw Sir Brent Spencer's division from the advanced situation which it had occupied, and these troops marched to Zibreira about one mile in the rear, on the morning of the 15th of October.

When Lord Wellington determined to return to Torres Vedras, where he occupied the French army until they were forced to retreat, he determined to clear the country of every thing, of which Massena complained loudly, saying, "The enemy burns and destroys every thing as he evacuates the country. He forces the inhabitants to abandon their homes under pain of death. Coimbra, a town of 20,000 inhabitants, is deserted. *We find no provisions.* The army is subsisted on Indian corn, and vegetables which we found remaining on the ground."

It is indeed very true that every soul in Coimbra fled,

fled, leaving it literally a desert: for the order of the Portuguese regency was positive for all to leave their houses, carry off all their goods, or destroy them, and leave nothing for the enemy. The Lisbon road was blocked up with waggons, carts, mules, horses, and bullocks; mothers, their eyes streaming with tears, carrying their screaming infants; young women of genteel condition, also in tears, on foot, and separated in the crowd from their families; men with heavy hearts but in silent sorrow, and every thing wearing an air of trouble and confusion. All the roads from St. Thomar, and the other neighbouring towns to Lisbon, were in like manner full of men, women, and children, with what effects they could bring along with them.

Yet, dreadful as the scene was, we must recollect that their sufferings on the approach of the French army, if they had remained, would have been infinitely worse: and as their distress was partly incurred in the general cause of the Portuguese nation; so the government, as well as private families in Lisbon, did all they could to alleviate it. An asylum was found for all; lodgings and food were procured, and every thing done which could afford relief; whilst the British House of Commons voted 100,000*l.* for their relief, to which was added an equal sum from private contribution.

In this position of the British army, on the navigable part of the Tagus, the communication, in a military point of view, was now opened with the British fleet laying in that river; and accordingly the gunboats, which Admiral Berkeley had placed under the command of his nephew Lieutenant Berkeley, had supported the right of the army near Alhandra, and having been several times engaged with the enemy's reconnoitring parties, had been of great service.

Though, in consequence of the retrograde movement of the British army after the affair of Busaco, the enemy had been enabled to take possession of

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Coimbra,

Recapture of Coimbra.

Coimbra, yet he was not permitted to hold it long; for Colonel Trant having arrived near that place with his detachment on the 7th of October, he immediately attacked the outposts, which he cut off from the town, and then pushing in, took possession of it. The resistance made by the enemy did not last long, and the colonel took eighty officers and five thousand men (principally sick and wounded) prisoners.*

On

* The occurrences of the capture of Coimbra are too important, and too highly illustrative of the conduct and situation of the French army at this period, to be slightly passed over.

Colonel Trant having arrived at Mealhada on the 6th of October, with the expectation of forming a junction with the corps under the command of Brigadier-General Miller, and Colonel Wilson, and of combining an attack on Coimbra, was in some measure disappointed in learning that those two corps were delayed from want of supplies in the very exhausted districts extending immediately north of Busaco, and that the cavalry attached to them could not move forward in consequence of the fatigue it had experienced in recent marches.

He had, therefore, no other alternative in order to prevent any measures of defence taking place at Coimbra, from which he was distant only three short leagues, but to proceed on with his own division, whilst yet a strong probability existed of his arrival at Mealhada not being made known.

He therefore marched at mid-day, having a squadron of cavalry in his front, under the command of a gallant young officer, Lieutenant Dutel, supported by two hundred light troops, whilst the column of infantry was headed by the Portuguese Coimbra regiment, as the post of honour. In the proposed plan of attack, it was intended to enter at two points at one time, one division by the high road from Oporto, the other to branch off from the column on having passed Fornos, and by ascending the heights to the eastward of the town, enter by the Arco Santa Anna, passing through the quarter called Loreto; but this arrangement was to take place only in the event of Colonel Trant's finding the enemy on his guard.

At a short distance from Fornos, towards Mealhada, this enterprising officer fell in with a detachment of the enemy to the right of that village. It commenced firing; but the cavalry having been pushed on to Fornos, they succeeded in cutting it off from all communication with Coimbra, when it surrendered after losing some men.

No other outposts of the enemy were met with; and Colonel Trant, upon approaching Coimbra, directed the cavalry to gallop through the principal streets, to cross the bridge of Mondego, and by penetrating

On the following day Brigadier-General Miller and Colonel Wilson arrived at Coimbra with their detachments;

trating into the Lisbon road, to intercept any information which might be sent to the main army. This manœuvre was effected with the utmost spirit by Lieutenant Dutel, with the loss of only one dragoon killed.—

Colonel Trant immediately dispatched divisions of infantry into the principal parts of the town: where an unconnected resistance took place for an hour, in which only two men of the assailants were killed, with Colonel Serpa and about twenty five men wounded.

On the Santa Clara side of the Mondego, where a great proportion of the enemy's force was stationed in the convent, some irregular firing was kept up upon the cavalry in crossing the bridge; but the French commanding officer, immediately after Lieutenant Dutel had crossed, proposed capitulating.

Colonel Trant then proceeded to the convent, but would allow no terms except those of discretion; and on his promise of exerting his good offices and protection against the insults of the peasantry, the French troops laid down their arms and marched out.

Of the prisoners, four thousand were marched off for Oporto, including an entire company of Napoleon's marine guards. Three thousand five hundred firelocks were found; and, as almost the whole of them were loaded, it shewed the number of the garrison who had been capable of making resistance; but no artillery were taken:

These arms were immediately distributed amongst the Ordananza of the country, whilst the victors got possession of a quantity of oxen and sheep which had been collected for the subsistence of the French army, and certainly proved a very seasonable supply to the captors.

It must be confessed that from the nature of the attack, it was difficult to controul the soldiers, or to prevent the armed peasantry from plundering; these latter indeed did commit some acts of violence, but not more than six or eight Frenchmen were the victims of their resentment.

Nothing could possibly exceed the state of wretchedness in which the city itself was found; for the enemy, not content with sacking it to the very utmost extent, and stripping the few housekeepers who remained of even their personal clothing, had wantonly set fire to some houses, and had heaped into the streets, in one general mass of disorder, all the furniture which they could not take with the army.

It could not be expected therefore that soldiers, of whom about eight hundred were relatives of the town and its neighbourhood, accompanied by their wretched relatives, could patiently witness a scene of devastation in which their property had been thus unjustifiably and irretrievably destroyed.

Yet, notwithstanding this, the generous feelings of Colonel Trant induced him to use every possible exertion to give protection to the French

Distress of the enemy.

detachments; and between that and the 20th they took about three hundred and fifty prisoners, being soldiers who had straggled from their regiments on the enemy's march, as they themselves stated, in search of food.

That the enemy at this period must have been suffering extremely is also evident from another fact, that a detachment from the garrison of Peniché, sent out by Brigadier-General Blunt, under Captain Fenwick, had been successful in a similar manner, and had brought in forty-eight prisoners, made from stragglers in the rear of the enemy's army, having killed nine; whilst Lieutenant-Colonel Waters, who had been employed with small detachments of cavalry and infantry in the enemy's rear, had been alike fortunate. In short, as his lordship observed in one of his dispatches, the difficulties which the whole of Massena's army experienced in procuring subsistence, owing to their having invaded Portugal without magazines, and having adopted no measures for the security of their rear, or of their communication with Spain, had rendered it necessary for the soldiers to straggle in search of provisions; and not a day passed without deserters or prisoners being brought in.

At this period every thing remained quiet in the north of Portugal *; and in the south of Spain, Marshal

French who had fallen into his hands; and, after the first moments of assault, he succeeded in securing them from insult.

In furtherance of these humane intentions, he found it necessary, however, to leave one of his brigades behind, and to march with all the prisoners that could be moved, with the remainder of his division as an escort to Oporto; for such was the animosity of the people of the country, and so strongly excited against the French by the horrid atrocities committed by their army, that he considered his own presence absolutely necessary for their preservation, particularly in that intermediate district between Mondego and Vouga.

* The situation of the unhappy Portuguese at this period may be drawn from a proclamation of Lord Wellington of the 4th of August, in which he observes—

“The

shal Mortier had retired from Zafra and Los Santos, and fallen back upon Seville with his army, in which march General Ballasteros had followed him to the vicinity of Castello de las Guardias, whilst the Portuguese and Spanish cavalry had moved on from the Guadiana towards the Sierra Morena.

Though the winter was now approaching; yet Lord Wellington seems to have been indefatigable in the concentration of all the disposable forces; and accordingly having, in the early part of the month, also put the infantry of the Marquis de la Romana's corps in motion for the purpose of a junction with his army, they crossed the Tagus in the morning of the 19th, and were well advanced to unite whenever it should be found necessary.

Soon after this the enemy detached some troops toward Santarem *, and on the 23d of October General

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“ The inhabitants of some villages have remained in them, confiding in the promises of the enemy, and hoping that by treating the enemies of their country well, they might conciliate and mollify them, and inspire them with humane sentiments; that their property would be respected, their females preserved from brutal violation, and their lives secured. Vain hopes! The inhabitants of these submissive places have suffered all the evils which a cruel enemy could inflict; their property has been plundered, their habitations burnt, their women atrociously violated, and those whose age or sex did not provoke the brutal violence of the soldiers, have fallen victims to the imprudent confidence which they placed in promises made only to be broken.”

* Santarem is a very important station, being a most commanding garrison town, and so highly estimated by Lord Wellington, that in his first expedition to Portugal in 1808, it was his advice that Santarem should be first occupied. It is only forty-five miles from Lisbon, and very strongly situated in a military point of view. It commands the great Eastern road, and is one of the main defences of Lisbon, provided that it is garrisoned by a sufficient force to occupy it, together with the positions in the vicinity; and is therefore one of the most essential fortresses to possess either in advance or retreat.

The works are flanked on the south-east by the Tagus, and on the north-west by very strong hills; and the great Eastern road, on which it stands, is between Santarem and the Tagus. Its original splendour may be estimated from its having had seventeen churches; but as
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French prepare to cross the Tagus.

neral Loison marched towards that place with the division under his command, whilst a body of the enemy's infantry and cavalry marched into Thomar on the same day.

About this period, the reports which Lord Wellington received, from the deserters and prisoners brought in, all concurred in the accounts of the distress felt by the enemy, through the want of provisions of all descriptions. These people stated also that the French army were busily employed in collecting and preparing materials to construct a bridge over the Tagus; it was something extraordinary, however, that this was done with great privacy; for, although the British army had a good view of that river, from different points of the ground which they occupied, and had officers and others employed on the left of the Tagus to watch the motions of the enemy; yet, even up to the latter end of October, it had been impossible either to discover where this work was carrying on, or where the bridge was to be placed on the river when constructed *.

The French appeared, however, very anxious to collect boats, and on the 24th, they endeavoured by the fire of artillery to drive a party of the Ordenanza from Chamusca, in order to obtain possession of some that

this road has always been that through which the French entered Portugal; it has been completely ruined by their devastations, having had every thing valuable pillaged in the earliest part of the war, and latterly nothing left that would burn, or was worth carrying away.

* Azambuga is the first town on the road from Santarem to Lisbon, being about thirteen miles distant from the former. In this part the road is rather difficult, and might be made much more so, particularly in one or two places, where an army acting on the defensive would have considerable advantages.

The fittest of these places for military defence is about four miles from Santarem, where the road passes through a plain which has a river in front, crossing the road; and, though this would not suffice for a permanent defence, it offers great advantages as a temporary post for covering the retreat of a retiring army.

Positions of the armies.

that were in that place ; but in this they did not succeed.

In fact, to have pushed on a business of this kind might have brought on a general action, for which they were not prepared, and to which they did not feel themselves competent ; at the same time, notwithstanding this, it still seems to have been most prudential conduct on the part of Lord Wellington not to court an action, as the enemy were then suffering as much as they could well have done after a defeat ; as on the side of Obidos and Ramelhal, the British cavalry and a battalion of Spanish light infantry, with the troops of the garrison of Peniché, actually confined their detachments within very small limits, so that they really possessed no part of the country, except that on which their army stood*.

In the early part of November, Lord Wellington, with his army, was still at Pero Negro. The state and position of the enemy also had been but little varied ; they still had a considerable body of troops, principally cavalry, on the Tagus, between Punhete and Santarem, and they had also pushed some corps across the Zezere above Punhete, principally cavalry, apparently with the design of reconnoitring the roads in that direction, and the Fort at Abrantes. They were now found to be at work preparing a bridge at Santarem and Barquinha for the destruction of which Major General Fane was detached from the British army with a body of cavalry and infantry to the left of the Tagus, in case he should find it practicable.

So great was the distress of the enemy by the
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* At this period the different parties of Guerillas had been more daring than usual ; and they had united in the neighbourhood of Valladolid, early in the month of October, to the amount of fifteen hundred, in order to carry off a convoy of money which had been raised in contributions in the country, but in this they unfortunately failed.

middle of November *, and so well planned and faithfully executed were the dispositions of Lord Wellington in confining them for upwards of a month in their old position, with their right at Sobral, and their left resting upon the Tagus, that they found it necessary to retire on the night of the 14th of November, going off by the road of Alenquer, towards Alcoentre with their right, and Villa Nova with their left, and continuing their route to Santarem on the succeeding days.

Lord Wellington's information was so correct, indeed he himself watched them so closely, that this movement was instantly known; and on the very next morning, (the 15th) the allied army broke up from their position, and followed the march of the enemy. So rapid was this harassing pursuit, though still with great prudence avoiding a battle, that the British advanced guard was at Alenquer on the same day, and the cavalry and advanced guard at Azambuja, and Alcoentre on the 16th, and at Cartaxo on the 17th.

In these movements about four hundred prisoners were made by pressing hard upon the enemy's rear; the advance being followed closely up by Sir Brent Spencer's division, and the 5th division of infantry under Major General Leith.

Lord Wellington on the 17th of November received accounts from Major General Fane (who had been detached to the left of the Tagus to look after the enemy's bridges) that the bridge over the Zezere, which he had been sent to destroy, had been carried away

* His lordship in his dispatches of the 3d of November had said, "It is reported by all the deserters that the enemy's troops continue to suffer great distress from the want of provisions."

"It is impossible to form an estimate of the quantity of provisions which they found in the villages on the ground which they occupy; but it is certain that they can draw none from any other part of the country, the whole being in the possession of our troops."

away by the floods, but that another had been constructed across the Zezere, and that they had on that day marched a large body of troops from Santarem towards Golegan.

In consequence of this information, his lordship with great promptitude passed Lieutenant-General Hill's corps across the Tagus at Valada, in the boats which Admiral Berkeley had sent up the river in order to assist and to facilitate the various operations of the army on that river.

The skill and patience displayed by Lord Wellington during the whole of these manœuvres were such as completely to defeat all the plans of the enemy; for being himself obliged to act on the defensive, in order to bring them to a stand, he had so completely strengthened the works of his position, as to render an attack upon the line occupied by the allied army very doubtful, if not entirely hopeless; whilst at the same time his dispositions were so judiciously made as to keep the enemy in check on all sides, but that on which they finally retreated; and, even there, it was impossible for them to keep up any communication whatever with the country, sufficient to ensure them the necessary supplies. Could they have crossed the Tagus, a fertile country would have been within their reach; but this they could not do without bridges or boats, to procure either of which they were unable whilst the river was in British possession.

There is no situation in which an army more particularly requires the constant superintendence of its Commander-in-Chief, than when it is comparatively in a state of quiescence; but, even in this state, the dispositions of Lord Wellington were so judicious, that, during the month he lay behind his lines, the effective strength of his army in proportion to its total numbers had wonderfully increased; in fact, there was no sickness of any importance, and above
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one half of those stated as sick in the military returns were convalescents, who were very considerably detained at Belem, and the other hospitals, until they had completely gained their strength so as to bear the fatigue of marching, and of the other duties of the field.

During the whole of these operations too, a considerable additional force had been provided from the fleet, and Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Williams had himself come up the Tagus to facilitate the passage of Lieutenant-General Hill's corps across the river, and to assist in other services ; on all which occasions, the greatest harmony, and the most cordial friendship, had subsisted between the two services, as indeed has always been the case during the present and preceding wars.

Much praise was also due to his lordship for his arrangements respecting his allies ; for, in addition to the Portuguese force, the Marquis de la Romana had also joined the allied army in their positions in front of Lisbon, with a considerable detachment of the Spanish army under his command ; yet throughout the whole period during which these positions were occupied, every thing went on with the utmost regularity, and the most satisfactory precision, notwithstanding that the force was thus composed of troops of various descriptions, and of different nations.

For all this, however, the gallant Wellington claimed no merit to himself ; but attributed it entirely to the general zeal for the general cause, and to the conciliating dispositions of the chiefs and general officers of the armies of the different nations.

Up to the early part of December, the enemy continued their retreat, closely followed, as prudence and enterprise dictated, by the British army : and about this period a detachment commanded by General Gardanne, and which had returned to Sobreira Formosa,

Retreat of Gardanne.

mósa, as if unwilling to quit Portugal, thought proper to resume their march to the frontier, and to enter Spain.

So closely were they watched, however, that they had no opportunity of forming any communication with the enemy's troops on the left of the Zezere, though at one time only three leagues distant from them.

General Gardanne indeed seems to have had some particular object in view, though it was frustrated by the different positions of the British army; for having lost some prisoners taken by a patrol, and a party of the Ordinanza, which accompanied the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Ponsonby on a reconnoissance from Abrantes to the river Codes, it was understood that the enemy had made very particular enquiries respecting the position of Lieutenant-General Hill's corps, and the means which the allies possessed of crossing the Tagus at Abrantes; after which having commenced their march from Cardigos towards Codes in the morning, they retired a few hours after with great precipitation, and continued their retreat in the same manner until they reached the frontier.

In this retreat they were followed by the Ordinanza, who not only did them much mischief, but succeeded in capturing a great part of their baggage; and so much were they harassed, even by this irregular force, that they destroyed many horses and mules which could not keep up with them; and their whole march, as Lord Wellington observed, if it was ordered by the supreme authority, and was connected with any other arrangement, had every appearance, and was attended by all the consequences, of a precipitate and forced retreat.

With respect to the main body of the enemy's army, however, which was still in front of the British position at Cartaxo, no particular alteration took place up to the 15th of December, except the detaching a body of cavalry, consisting of four regiments,
† towards

French take post at Santarem.

towards Coimbra; but finding that town occupied by General Bacellar, they soon returned to their station in rear of the right of their army, which, from all the accounts brought in by prisoners and deserters, continued to suffer severely, whilst the British army, though acting on the defensive, were in possession of as many comforts as were compatible with such a state of warfare.

Santarem was at this period the head quarters of the French army, (as Cartaxo was for the British) and they had about the 22d of December been able to collect some boats on the Zezere, over which river they had also thrown two or three bridges; and, towards the latter end of the month, those detachments which had retired from Lower Beira, in the early part of December, crossed the Coa, and moved into the Upper Beira, by the roads of Pinhel and Trancoso, and of Alverca and Celorico. This seems to have been something of a forward movement on the part of the enemy, but the whole force did not consist of more than sixteen or seventeen thousand men, being partly Gardanne's division, with some other troops; their progress, however, was by no means rapid, and their advanced posts, even on the 22d, had not got further than Maceira, in the valley of the Mondego.

Though Lord Wellington still deemed any active operations on his part imprudent, yet he had made every disposition for active warfare, whenever it was practicable. Accordingly in the latter end of the year, though General Silveira had retired with his division of troops to Mor Monto de Beira, yet he, and General Miltier, and Colonel Wilson, were prepared to act across the Mondego, upon the flanks and rear of the enemy when occasion should require it.

At the close of the year, Lord Wellington still pursued the same defensive warfare which had hitherto been so successful; and although there were some appearances of a turn of fortune in favor of the French, yet he

he was firm in adhering to his plan, and never for a moment doubted of its success. We cannot give a more faithful picture of events at this period, than from a recent statement, which tells us that the ardour and activity of Lord Wellington were suitable to the importance of the crisis. He was very sparing in his diet, and slept in his clothes. He was up every morning at four o'clock, and at five he rode out and visited his advanced posts.* The noble enthusiasm with which he was actuated was infused into his army by sympathy. The whole country indeed was under arms. Every thing at Lisbon was military. The city was garrisoned by marines from the English fleet; and the garrison of Lisbon was sent to reinforce the army, which was also augmented by the arrival of ten thousand Spaniards, under the Marquis of Romana. The greater part of the British troops had arrived from Cadiz; and the seamen and marines were also landed from the fleet, to assist in working the guns in the batteries. The banks of the Tagus, on the right of the British lines, were flanked by the armed launches, and seven sloops of war were sent up the river; whilst extensive works were raised on the south side of the Tagus, to cover the river and protect the shipping. On the same side of the river too, the Peninsula, formed by a creek or small bay

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at

* If the French suffered from privation the British were not also without their inconveniences; but the following extract from a military letter will shew something of a soldier's life.

“Cartaxo, 29th November. The French take all the vegetables and eatables they can carry away. We are but poorly off here, and a good deal harassed. Scarce a house is left in the country with a door or window shutter—Windows are out of the question. A board or two serves for a table, and he is a lucky fellow who can find a chair or stool to sit on; beds we do not presume to think of. Since we have left Lisbon, I have never taken off more than coat, stock, and shoes, and put on my boat cloak, and hairy cap, and am glad if I can get a place to lie down dry, which has not always been the case. We can get nothing but our rations, except what comes from Lisbon—We live cheap.”——

at Moita, near Aldea Gallega on the Tagus, and the bay of St. Ubes, was cut off from the French by a double line of fortifications, mounted with very heavy artillery, and manned, partly, by a body of 5000 seamen; on account of which the French were prevented from advancing to Almada opposite to Lisbon, even if they should be able to cross the river, which at one time was supposed to be their intention: and on that side of the Tagus were posted the corps of Generals Hill and Beresford.

Torres Vedras, however, formed the main defence. This was the grand line, and Lord Wellington himself lay at Cartaxo with the main body of the British army.

Between these two great military forces was the British fleet in the Tagus, ready to assist on which ever side the attack might be made, and to transport troops when necessary; so that, upon an emergency, a most considerable part of the whole force might be brought into action, even on the shortest notice.

The whole of this scene is most imposing; for though perhaps the allies were numerically superior to the French, yet it must be recollected, that a great part of their force was as yet very inefficient: but the whole of the two contending armies amounted at least to 180,000 men.

The grand position of the allied army at Torres Vedras was a line of strongly fortified heights, extending from Aihandra on the Tagus, to Torres Vedras about thirty miles from Lisbon, and from thence to the mouth of the Sissandro. Behind these there were two other lines of trenches and redoubts, extending from Mafra, on the sea coast, to the Tagus. One of these, which was nearest to the fortified line of Torres Vedras in front, was capable of defence by 20,000 men; whilst half that number was sufficient for the other.

On all of these there was planted an immense number

ber of artillery ; whilst redoubts were raised at Peniche, Obidos, and many other places. Even the hills were fortified ; and, on the left of the position, the whole of the coast, from Vimiera to the very mouth of the Tagus, was studded with redoubts mounted with heavy artillery. The right on the Tagus was flanked by the armed boats of the squadron. Mines were ready for springing in many places ; and the whole country was one vast fortification, with about 80,000 men well armed and well fed.

Torres Vedras is of itself an old and insignificant town, on the Oporto road from Lisbon, and is about two and twenty miles distant from the capital. It stands in a valley, but has some very important heights in its vicinity ; and particularly one conical hill, which commands the town ; and, having the ruins of an old tower upon it, from thence gives a name to the place.

It must indeed be a place of considerable antiquity ; for even as early as the Roman times, when it was a colonial *Præsidium* of the people, it had the name of “*Turres Veteres*,” or the *Old Towers*.

Of the lines themselves, we may add that the first line comprehended thirty-two works, with about 100 pieces of cannon, and 10,000 infantry. The second line was defended by sixty-five works, 15,000 infantry, and about 200 pieces of artillery : whilst the remainder of the army was employed in keeping up the communication between the lines and the reserve. The grand total, on the 1st of November 1810, being 107 distinct fortified works, 28,490 infantry, and 444 cannon of all sizes!!!—works to which the labours of Hercules were but as mole hills to mountains!

Commencement of 1811.

SECTION VIII.

Spanish affairs—Fall of Tortosa—Death and character of the Marquis De la Romana—Anecdotes of ditto—Defeat of General Mendizabel—Anecdotes of military enterprise—Affairs of Cadiz—Expedition detached—Anecdotes of Sir Thomas Graham—Battle of Barrosa—Military Anecdotes of ditto—Extraordinary conduct of the Spanish general—Observations on Lord Wellington's policy—Distress and retreat of the French army—Pursued by the British—Horrible atrocity—Gallant affairs with the rear of the French—Defeat of Massena's rear-guard at Pombal—Affair of Arronches—Further interesting delineations—Marshal Beresford blockades Badajoz, and defeats the French at Campo Mayor—Anecdotes of Marshal Mortier—Anecdotes of the battle—Massena's rear-guard defeated at Sabugal—Blockade of Almeida—Attack and repulse of Massena at Fuente d'Honor—Curious anecdotes of Don Julian, the famous Spanish Guerilla—Retreat of the garrison of Almeida—Battle of Albuera, and defeat of Soult—Interesting military anecdotes—Biography of the officers who fell—Gallantry of the Spanish soldiery—Gallant affair of the British and French Cavalry at Usagre—Siege of Badajoz—Two assaults fail—Lord Wellington raises the siege—Junction of the French armies—Lord Wellington blockades Ciudad Rodrigo—Raises the blockade—British rear-guard repulses Marmont—Attacks of the French on Fonte Guinaldo—French army repulsed at Aldea de Ponte—Retreat of the French—Distinguished honours to Lord Wellington—Gallant enterprize of Don Julian Sanchez—Governor of Ciudad Rodrigo taken—Anecdotes of General Hill—Spirited attack and judicious surprise of General Girard and his detachment—Anecdotes of ditto—Curious anecdotes of King Joseph and Marshal Marmont, &c. &c. &c.

THE year 1811, has perhaps produced more important events than any other of the struggle for independence in the Peninsula.

On the second day of the year General Suchet* took

* Suchet is perhaps one of the best officers formed in the school of the revolution. He was the son of a wealthy manufacturer of silks and damasks at Lyons, and received, not merely a liberal and gentlemanly, but a most finished and superior, education. He was not originally intended for the army, but entered into it at the commencement of the revolution,

took possession of Tortosa, after a short siege and very ineffectual defence. It is believed indeed that it might have held out a much longer time, particularly as its situation near the mouth of the Ebro rendered it easy to afford it succours from the sea; but its surrender is one of those extraordinary events during this Spanish contest, which it is easier to lament than to account for.

On the 23d of January Soult took possession of Olivenza; and the same day produced an event, even more lamentable for the Spanish cause, in the death of the gallant Marquis De la Romana.*

After

revolution, during all the wars of which he served with great military distinction. Buonaparte, one of whose main talents certainly is to discover, and to understand characters, adopted him almost as soon as he knew him; and when the war in Spain became arduous, and even hazardous, sent him there immediately, along with some others of his best officers.

* Lord Wellington expressed his sorrow for the death of the Marquis De la Romana, who expired at Cartaxo, within the British lines, on the 23d of January, after a short illness. He observed that his talents, his virtues, and his patriotism, were well known: that in him the Spanish army had lost its brightest ornament; his country its most upright patriot; and the world the most strenuous and zealous defender of the cause of liberty; and his lordship added, that he should always acknowledge, with gratitude, the assistance which he had received from him, as well by his operations, as his counsel from the time of his joining the allied army.

Romana was a native of the island of Majorca, and was born at Palma in 1762, his name Don Pedro Caro y Sureda, a grandee of Spain by descent, and by subsequent services, Grand Cross of the Royal Spanish order of Charles the third, and Captain-General of the Spanish armies.

After an education suitable to his birth, during which he made a rapid progress in the learned languages, with the classics of which he was familiarly acquainted, emulous of his father who died gloriously in the field of honour, in the expedition to Algiers in 1775, he began his military career in the Marine Guards of the Royal Spanish navy, where he continued until the war of the French revolution,* being then captain of a frigate. At this time he exchanged his services, and became a colonel in the army of Navarre, commanded by his uncle Don Ventura Caro, then a lieutenant-general.

His services were so important, and his abilities so transcendent, that in 1801 he was appointed captain-general of Catalonia, and president of the Royal Audiencia of that province; in which capacity he

found

Interesting anecdote.

After the death of the Marquis, his corps devolved upon Mendizabel, who was soon after detached upon

found many opportunities of displaying his extensive knowledge, and sound policy. He afterwards rose to be Director-general of Engineers, and counsellor at war.

The insidious plan which the tyrant of Europe already cherished, led him to withdraw from Spain the Marquis De la Romana with her best troops. In the command of these the marquis displayed an intelligence which is well known, till the situation of his beloved country coming to his knowledge amid the snows of the north, from that moment he vowed to succour her, surmounting, with that view, a thousand dangers and difficulties.

On his arrival in Spain, by his conduct and military skill, he finally succeeded in driving the invaders from Galicia, even to their own astonishment, and to the surprize of all who knew the small means he had at his disposal.

As the recovery of the Spanish forces, which had been so insidiously drawn away by Buonaparte, forms a prominent feature in the history of the Spanish revolution, the following anecdote will not be irrelevant :

Whilst the Marquis De la Romana and his troops were in Denmark, they were kept in profound ignorance of the situation of their native country, and of the glorious events which had taken place there, notwithstanding the various attempts which had been made on the part of the British naval commander, Sir Richards Keats, to communicate the tidings to him, and to concert the means of escape for himself and troops. At length an enterprising gentleman was found, an ecclesiastic, in whose honour, knowledge, and good sense, the firmest confidence could be placed. This gentleman, disguised as a trader of the humblest description, went by way of Heligoland, to the place where the marquis and his troops were confined, having encountered such difficulties in his progress, as required the utmost caution, patience, and fortitude. At length he overcame all obstacles; and, having ascertained the person of the marquis, he was obliged to watch incessantly for an opportunity of addressing him, without exciting the suspicion of the numerous spies by whom he was surrounded. This agent at last was obliged, as if by accident, to jostle the marquis in the street, in order to attract his attention; and, having done so, he apologized as if ignorant of his rank, and concluded with offering to sell him some excellent coffee. The marquis treated this offer with contempt, and signified that he supposed he was speaking to a *smuggler*. The priest, however, persevered in recommending his coffee; and in the course of the conversation, took an opportunity of intimating that he was not a smuggler but a gentleman. "We'll soon see to that," said the marquis, and then asked him if he could speak Latin. The priest answered in

Spirited skirmish.

upon a particular service, but was defeated on the 19th of February by Soult, near the river Geborah.*

Whilst

in the affirmative, and a conversation ensued, apparently about coffee, as the gestures of both were intended to deceive all who might observe them. The marquis was then duly informed of every thing that had occurred in Spain, of the assistance which the British Government had rendered, and of its readiness to adopt any measure that was practicable, to effect the rescue of himself and his troops, that they might join their heroic countrymen in resisting the vile attempts of France to enslave them.

The rest of the measures necessary for the attainment of the object in view, and its final success, are well known

* A brilliant little affair took place on the 8th of February which deserves notice here.

In the neighbourhood of Guarda, the enemy had long been busy in plundering whatever they could lay their hands on, and having detached 2,500 men to Belmonte, they sacked and destroyed all the small places around it. They at the same time sent word to Covilhaens, a considerable village and post of some importance, that it was their intention to establish their head quarters there, and that they would put to death those who fled. In order to attempt to counteract their intentions, and to save the principal place in that part of the country, Lieutenant Colonel Grant, then exercising the duties of a commission in the Portuguese army, marched from Sardao on the night of the 8th, with only four hundred of the Ordenanza and a six pounder, and arrived at Covilhaens on the following morning. Here he remained until the 12th, when at 8 o'clock in the morning one thousand five hundred of the enemy came from Belmonte in two columns, and attempted the place. Colonel Grant, having stationed his little band to the best advantage he could, permitted the assailants to approach to the range of grape-shot, when he opened a fire from his single gun, and in ten minutes they were thrown into confusion, and retreated in disorder, but still facing at times, and manœuvring in front, whilst two companies of the Ordenanza annoyed them in flank and rear, with such success that at two o'clock they retired from the field, to their old quarters, at Belmonte. Colonel Grant was however soon afterwards obliged to retire, the enemy having moved a large force with cannon against him.

The situation of the two armies at this period not leading to any operations on a large scale, several individual acts of skill and gallantry took place, which deserve notice. One of them in particular we shall mention.

Whilst Sir William Erskine was at Marmaleira the enemy had, for some time, been in the habit of making a strong patrol almost every night up to Arruda; in consequence of which, Sir William detached Cornet Strenuwitz of the bussars, with thirty men of the 16th light dragoons

Whilst the main bodies of the hostile troops were laying in their respective positions, some events took place in the south which deserve particular notice;* and an

dragoons and some hussars, to place himself in the ambuscade, in the vicinity of Ferragoas, in order to cut off this patrol if it should appear, and likewise to watch the motions of the enemy, who were reported to be on the eve of making some considerable movements.

The enemy not appearing during the nights of the 19th and 20th, as was expected, on the evening of the latter day Cornet Strenuwitz (not having forage to enable him to remain any longer) sent a small party up to the enemy's picquet at Alcanhede to invite them out, which had the desired effect, the enemy following this patrol with an officer and twenty infantry, and an officer and the same number of dragoons who were led by the patrol within reach of the ambuscade, where the cornet with his party fell on them. Immediately the officer with the whole of the infantry were taken or cut down; three dragoons were likewise taken, and several cut down; whilst the remainder by dispersing escaped being made prisoners. Seventeen prisoners were taken, and the British had only one horse wounded. The wounded officer taken was Aid-de-Camp to General Clauzel, who has since commanded the army of Portugal on Marmont's being wounded at the battle of Salamanca. He had himself been placed in ambuscade like Cornet Strenuwitz, but seems to have *caught a Tartar*!

* An expedition having been determined upon by the Spanish Government, to which Lieutenant General Graham** then at Cadiz, had consented

** General Sir Thomas Graham, was born in the year 1750, at Balgowan in Scotland, long the seat of his ancient family; and his mother was lady Christian Hope sister to the late Earl of Hopetown.

Being an only surviving son, the whole care of his highly respectable father was to give him an education suitable to his birth and fortune; and he having decided on a private education it was attended with the greatest advantage, for it is said that there is not a better informed man in the army than the gallant General; he writes his own language with force and simplicity, and being anxious to employ all his leisure in adding to his already large stock of knowledge, he contrives to join the character of an indefatigable reader to that of the active soldier, and the man of business. Even now, many of the humane improvements too, which he is carrying on at Balgowan for the welfare of his country, were contemplated amidst the fatigues of active service, and the directions for their advancement written on the ground, the soldier's pillow!

In early life General Graham traversed the whole continent of Europe; and though he did not then enter the army, yet he acquired a large

Expedition to Tariffa.

an important æra in the Spanish war was now approaching, which seems to have been foreseen and
 16. 3 B provided

sent to give his personal assistance, together with that of a considerable portion of the troops under his command, Rear Admiral Sir Richard Keats proceeded to afford all the assistance in his power, when a body of upwards of three thousand troops, including cavalry, with various military stores and provisions, were embarked on board of British and Spanish men of war, and as many transports as could be collected belonging to the two nations. With these there were seven thousand Spanish troops embarked, and the whole were assembled in the bay of Cadiz on the 20th of February, waiting for a favourable opportunity to proceed into the straits of Gibraltar, with a view to force a landing between Cape Trafalgar, and Cape de Plata at Tariffa, or at Algeiras in failure of the two former places.

General La Penas was the Commander in Chief of the Expedition; and his object was to unite the Spanish forces at San Roque, with his own army, in order to make a combined attack on the rear of the enemy's lines at Cadiz. It was also intended that the British Fleet should assist in some demonstrations, and in an attempt to open a communication from Cadiz to the advancing army.

On the evening of the 20th, it being conceived, from the appearance of the weather, that the Spanish part of the force would be able to get out on the afternoon and night of the 21st, the British detachment and squadron, under the command of Captain Brace of the navy, put to sea accordingly; and, with the exception of one transport, got into the straits; but it being impracticable to make a landing either in the vicinity of Cape Trafalgar or Tariffa, Captain Brace proceeded to Algeiras, on the west side of the bay of Gibraltar, where General Graham and the troops were landed.

The little army immediately marched for Tariffa; but as the roads were

large stock of military knowledge—knowledge, however, which perhaps he would never have put in practice, had it not been for the loss of an amiable wife, sister to the present Lord Cathcart, and with whom he lived the life of an ardent and passionate lover for eighteen years!

She yielded up her meek spirit at Hieres in the south of France, when the disconsolate husband became a solitary wanderer, and arriving at Gibraltar attached himself to the army, and accompanied Lord Hood in the British Fleet to Toulon, where he shewed himself very active in the negotiations which put that place into our hands.

After this he wished to acquire rank in the army, his military ardour having recommended him to Lord Mulgrave and every officer with whom he served, but it was not without great difficulty that the forms of office were at length broken through, which has at last raised him to the rank he so well deserves.

provided for by Lord Wellington, in his admirable defensive manœuvres, as he clearly and judiciously saw

were impracticable for carriages, the artillery, provisions, stores, &c. were conveyed thither in boats, notwithstanding the unfavourableness of the weather, by the indefatigable exertions of the navy.

It was, however, some days before the Spanish part of the expedition could get out; nor did they get to Tariffa until the 27th.

On the 28th the combined army moved from Tariffa towards Barbate, attended by such naval means as winds and weather would permit; and preparations were made by the Fleet and garrison at Cadiz, and immediately acted upon, to menace the Trocadero and other points of the French line, in order, as the army advanced, to favor its operations, arrangements being made for a landing and real or feigned attacks as circumstances might determine; for which purpose the regiment of Toledo was embarked on board the British squadron.

On the 1st of March, General Zayas pushed across the river San Petri, near the coast: a strong body of Spanish troops threw a bridge across the river, and formed a *tête du pont*. It was, however, a post of too much importance for the enemy to leave it unmolested; and accordingly it was attacked with vigour on the nights of the 3d and 4th, when, though the assailants were ultimately repulsed, the loss of the Spaniards was very considerable.

The winds and weather were now so tempestuous and unfavorable, that landing on any part of the neighbouring coasts was extremely difficult, and a speedy reembarkation, if necessary, almost impracticable; in fact, even common communication with the advancing allied army was considerably impeded by the heavy surf along the shore; and the services of the Spanish regiment embarked being totally useless they were sent on shore.

Information was now received that the army was advancing, but the weather on the 5th in the forenoon was too unsettled to admit of any co-operation.

The allied troops, after a night march of sixteen hours from the camp near Vegar, arrived on the morning of the 5th of March on the low ridge of Barrosa, about four miles to the southward of the river of San Petri.*

A well conducted and successful attack on the rear of the enemy's lines near San Petri by the vanguard of the Spanish army, under Brigadier-General Ladrizabel, having opened the communications of the army with the Isla de Leon, General Graham received directions from the

* The heights of Barrosa extend inland about a mile and a half; continuing on the north the extensive heathy plain of Chiclana. A great pine forest skirts the plain, and circles round the height at some distance, terminating down towards San Petri: the intermediate space between the north side of the height and the forest being uneven and broken.

Battle of Barrosa.

saw that the nature of the Spanish territory, the nature of the warfare carried on in the Peninsula, and the
3 B 2 protracted

the Spanish General La Penas, to move down from the position of Barrosa to that of the Torre de Bermesa, about half way to the San Petri river, in order to secure a communication across the river, over which a bridge had been lately established. This latter position placed the British troops on a narrow woody ridge; the right on the sea cliff, the left falling down to the Almanza creek, on the edge of the marsh; a hard sandy beach giving an easy communication between the western points of these two positions.

General Graham having halted his division on the eastern slope of the Barrosa height, he marched, about noon, through the wood towards the Bermesa, (cavalry patrols having previously been sent towards Chiclana without meeting with the enemy,) but on the march he received intelligence that a large French force had appeared on the plain, and was then advancing towards the heights of Barrosa.

The General, considering that position as the key of San Petri, immediately countermarched in order to support the troops left for its defence; and the order was obeyed by his gallant few with such alacrity that he could not help regarding it as a favourable omen. In such difficult and intricate ground it was impossible to preserve order in his columns of march; and indeed he afterwards confessed in his dispatches that there never was time for restoring it entirely, for before he could get his detachment quite disentangled from the wood, the troops on the Barrosa hill were seen returning from it, whilst the left wing of the enemy was rapidly ascending; and at the same time his right wing stood on the plain, on the edge of the wood, within cannon shot.

With the utmost coolness and precision General Graham reflected that a retreat in the face of such an enemy, already within reach of the easy communication by the sea beach, must have involved the whole allied army in all the danger of being attacked during the unavoidable confusion of the different corps arriving on the narrow ridge of Bermesa nearly at the same time; therefore, trusting to the known heroism of British troops, regardless of the numbers and position of the enemy, he determined, with rapid judgment, on an immediate attack.

Major Duncan of the artillery soon opened a powerful battery of ten guns in the centre. Brigadier-General Dilks, with the brigade of guards; Lieutenant-Colonel Browne's (of the 28th) flank battalion; Lieutenant-Colonel Norcott's two companies of the 2d rifle corps, and Major Acheson, with a part of the 57th foot (separated from the regiment in the wood) formed on the right.

Colonel Wheatley's brigade, with three companies of the Coldstream guards, under Lieutenant Colonel Jackson, (separated likewise from his battalion in the wood) and Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard's flank battalion, formed on the left.

As

Gallant charge of the cavalry.

protracted state of warfare, would in time produce considerable advantage to the allied cause.

The

As soon as the infantry was thus hastily got together, the guns advanced to a more favourable position, and kept up a most destructive fire.

The right wing proceeded to the attack of General Rufin's division on the hill, while Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard's battalion and Lieutenant-Colonel Bushe's detachment of the 20th Portuguese, were warmly engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs on the left.

General Laval's division of the French army, notwithstanding the havoc made by the British artillery, continued to advance in very imposing masses, opening his fire of musquetry; and was not checked until the British left wing advanced, firing, when a most determined charge by the three companies of the guards, and the 87th regiment, supported by all the remainder of the wing, decided the defeat of General Laval, and his division of the French army.*

The eagle of the 8th regiment of French light infantry, which upon this occasion suffered severely, and a howitzer, were the reward of this gallant charge, being taken possession of by Major Gough of the 87th, whilst the attack was zealously supported by Colonel Belson, with the 28th regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, with a part of the 67th.

Nothing could stop the impetuosity of these gallant fellows, who,
rushing

* This gallant charge was thus described by an officer on the spot. "The scene of this charge will ever be distressing to my feelings; the French waited till we came within about twenty paces of them before they broke; and, as they were in column, when they did they could not get away, it was therefore a scene of most dreadful carnage. They appeared so frightened and confounded that they made, whilst we were among them, (about a quarter of an hour,) little or no opposition.

"We should have taken or destroyed the whole 8th regiment; but at this moment the 47th French regiment advanced, and General Graham, who was during the whole action in the middle of it, pointed them out, and begged Major Gough would call off his men;—I will not say all, as we were in the midst of the 8th French.

"With the greatest difficulty, by almost cutting them down, the right wing collected, with which we charged the 47th; but after firing until we came till we were within about fifty paces of them they, for us fortunately, broke and fled; for, had they done their duty, fatigued and jaded as our men were at the moment, they must have cut us to pieces. We were, therefore, after they broke, unable to follow them, but took the howitzer attached to them.—Thus ended this glorious action, after two hours and a half's roar of cannon and musquetry."

Glorious defeat of the enemy.

The state of the hostile armies, at the commencement of the year 1811, has been admirably drawn by a contemporary

rushing on, soon obliged a reserve formed beyond the narrow valley, across which the enemy was closely pursued, to share the same fate, they being routed by a second charge.

Nor was the right wing of the British less successful. On that side the enemy, confident of success, met General Dilkes on the ascent of the hill, and the contest was sanguinary; but the undaunted perseverance of the brigade of guards, of Lieutenant-Colonel Brown's battalion, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Norcott's, and Major Acheson's detachment, overcame every obstacle, and General Rufin's division was driven from the heights in confusion, leaving two pieces of cannon.*

Thus, in less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action, the enemy were in full retreat. The retiring divisions, indeed, met, halted, and seemed inclined to form; but a new and more advanced position of the British artillery soon dispersed them.

At this crisis the exhausted state of the troops made pursuit impossible. In the mean time a position was taken on the eastern side of the hill; and the small British force was soon after strengthened on its right by the return of the two Spanish battalions that had been attached before to the division, but which had been left on the hill, and been ordered to retire. These two battalions (Walloon guards and Ciudad Real) had made every effort to come back in time, as soon as they knew of the action having taken place.

During

* In this brilliant action, the fire was hotter than ever remembered by the oldest soldier; scarcely an officer escaping without some mark of shot. General Graham was himself pierced in the coat in two places; many of the Colonels had their horses wounded, and Lieutenant-Colonel Colquitt of the guards was shot through the sleeve of his coat by a musquet ball, and a cannon shot literally touched his saddle while he was in the act of dismounting to pass a ravine.

A private letter stated:—

“Our fellows had marched 22 miles that day, and were just taking refreshment, when a peasant came to General Graham and told him the French were coming round a wood to surprise him, on which General Graham formed his little army with admirable precision. When the enemy appeared in sight General Graham rode up in front of the guards, 87th regiment, German legion, and Portuguese cavalry; and, waving his hat, exclaimed, “Now, my lads, there they are—spare your powder, but give them steel enough!” on which the column gave three cheers, and as the French neared them, gave their volley, and made so animated a charge, that in an hour the enemy were put *hors du combat*, and with the prompt assistance of the rifle corps, and other British regiments, dispersed in all directions.

a contemporary historian, who observed that the retreat of Massena from his advance upon the British lines

During this dashing business the enemy's line was extended much further than General Graham could distinguish : and a large corps, both of infantry and cavalry, had attempted to turn the Barrosa height by the sea, but these were completely kept in check by General Whittingham, with only three squadrons of cavalry ; and at the same time one squadron of the 2d hussars, and King's German legion, under Captain Busche, and directed by Lieutenant-Colonel Ponsonby, joined in sufficient time to make a most brilliant and successful charge against a squadron of French dragoons, which was entirely routed.

General Graham, in his public dispatches, most emphatically said that no expressions of his could do adequate justice to the troops throughout the whole affair. In fact, nothing less than the almost unparalleled exertions of every officer, the invincible bravery of every soldier, and the most determined devotion to the honour of his Majesty's arms in all, could have achieved this brilliant success against such a formidable enemy, so strongly posted.

At the close of the action it was ascertained that an eagle, six pieces of cannon, the general of division, *Rufin*, and the general of brigade, *Rosseau*, were wounded and taken ; the chief of the staff, General *Bellegarde*, an aid du camp of Marshal *Victor*, and the Colonel of the 8th regiment, with many other officers, killed, and several wounded and taken prisoners : and, as General Graham observed, the field, covered with the dead bodies and the arms of the enemy, was the best attestation that his confidence in his gallant little division was nobly repaid. Marshal *Victor* himself had the command in the field on this important day, and learned such a lesson as he had formerly been taught at *Talavera*.

The whole British loss amounted to two captains, five subalterns, and 195 rank and file killed ; but the number of wounded were very great, comprising five lieutenant-colonels, one major, fourteen captains, twenty-six lieutenants, eight ensigns, one staff, and 985 serjeants, rank and file, &c.

Having remained some hours on the Barrosa heights after the action, without being able to procure any supply for the exhausted troops, the commissariat mules having been dispersed on the enemy's first attack upon the hill, General Graham was at length obliged to withdraw the greatest part of his division into the *Isla de Leon*, but leaving Major *Ross* with a detachment of the 3d battalion of the 95th, to preserve the post, completely doing away every surmise of his retrograde movement being a retreat, but being in fact rather an advance, having now the communication with *Cadiz* entirely open.

It has been well observed, that in this battle the Portuguese, who were attached to the British troops, behaved remarkably well ; and that the portion also of the Spanish forces which came out of the *Isla de*

Extraordinary conduct of the Spanish general.

lines at Torres Vedras back to Santarem, at the close of the preceding year,* had produced excessive joy and

de Leon, and established the communication across the River San Petri, also proved themselves worthy of fighting in the same ranks with British soldiers. But we are sorry to confess that the conduct of the main body of the Spanish army under the command of General La Pena, the commander in chief, was of a very different complexion.

In fact, knowing, as he ought to have done, the immediate presence of a large French force, it is difficult to account for his ordering General Graham to quit the heights of Barrosa, without posting there a sufficient Spanish force to occupy them afterwards, and thus to cover General Graham's march to Bermesa.

Some military critics, *at home*, have, indeed, censured General Graham, for descending to the sea shore on his route from Barrosa to Bermesa, judging of the country from its appearance on a map, and ignorant that there was no other route by which he could conduct an army. The error, therefore, seems solely to have rested with the Spanish general who thus left so commanding a position, in the rear of the British advancing army, without providing for its security against the enemy.

A few Spaniards were, indeed, left on the heights; but La Pena, even when he must have known of the advance of the enemy, seems to have adopted no means whatever for their support, or for the preservation of the post. Nay, he even permitted his large body of troops to stand quiet and distant spectators of Barrosa's gallant day, even though the assailants were the common enemy. It is even more extraordinary, that after the French too were routed, and when their defeat and consequent slaughter might have been rendered much more complete, by immediate and close pursuit, still the Spanish commander never offered to put his troops in motion for that purpose.

This dilatory and inattentive conduct, to call it by no worse name, naturally excited strong indignation, and gave rise to great complaint on the part of the British.

On which the Spanish general not only endeavoured to exculpate himself; but even dared to throw blame on General Graham for not having obeyed his orders!

General Graham did not *strictly* obey his orders; for had he done so, and *proceeded on his route* to Bermesa, when he heard of the approach of the French, he must have had his gallant little army cut to pieces!

To the complaints of the British, some attention seemed at first to be paid by the Cortes, who even professed a readiness to punish the General La Pena, if guilty, and, therefore, ordered him under arrest; but this was a mere farce, though he was brought to trial, and acquitted, and actually employed a few months afterwards.

* It has been well observed, that in all the countries which have
already

French policy and difficulties.

and congratulation at home, as his immediate and further retreat was then looked for with certainty.

It

already been overrun and conquered by Napoleon or his predecessors in the Revolution, their armies have been, in a great measure, supported by contributions and exactions on the inhabitants; and as each conquest was generally achieved in the short space of one campaign of but a few months' duration, so there occurred no difficulty in obtaining money and provisions amply sufficient for all demands, from the occupied territory.

But it was widely different with respect to their invasion of the Peninsula, as there was but little for them to seize on in any particular place, whilst the protracted state of the warfare itself was sufficient to produce very great difficulties in the way of paying and supporting the French armies; and as that warfare was not only thus protracted, but the invaders often compelled to remain long in one place, their means of support, from the country itself, were thus more speedily consumed.

It must also be recollected, that in all the other countries over-run by these savages, the inhabitants themselves were either friendly to their cause, or at least neutral, until French atrocity had cured them of their love for French fraternity, whilst in Spain and in Portugal every house contained an enemy, every tree concealed a foe.

So far, indeed, were the inhabitants from furnishing them with supplies or forage, that the French armies in many instances were compelled to trust for their supplies to France herself; so that Napoleon found his troops placed in circumstances, under whose operation the acknowledged and often tried excellence of his plundering commissariat was of but little avail.

Thus his armies, during great part of the contest, have been in the midst of a country stripped of all supplies, or at least not in possession of those supplies to such an extent as was sufficient for the support of their great expenditure; whilst even these partial supplies were so widely and thinly scattered, that they could not be procured and collected, without exposing the troops to circumstances of the greatest hazard, not only from the Guerillas, but even from the mass of the Spanish peasantry; and even, when collected, they still were exposed to considerable danger during their transport to the main body.

Though some small supplies were doubtless sent from France, yet to do so on a large scale was out of the question; for even if they had possessed a friendly country to send them through, with the best roads, still the difficulties would have been great; much more so, through districts where all were inimical, where the roads were bad, and where the distance was so much increased by the advance of the armies.

Under these circumstances, it seems evident that the wisest and most

It soon appeared, however, that he had established himself in his new position, thereby shewing his retreat to Santarem to be perhaps little more than a feint, or at least merely rendered necessary by the devastation of that district which his numerous army had so long occupied.

Indeed, early in 1811, Lord Wellington received intelligence that considerable reinforcements, to the amount of 15,000, were coming to him, bringing with them extensive supplies; and that although the Portuguese General Silveira had attempted to interrupt their march, still he had only been able to harass them in a small degree, and was even himself compelled to abandon his object after a smart action in which he was beaten.

It has been noticed, that for some time after Massena received this reinforcement the desertions from his army were much less frequent, nor did the accounts even of those who came away present such horrid pictures of distress and famine.

From all this it was easy to conjecture that the French army must have received a considerable supply of provisions; but still Lord Wellington knew that the additional force which accompanied them, must in the end increase their consumption, and hasten the retreat of the whole, from sheer famine, provided he could avoid a general action. With this object in view then, did he quietly occupy his lines at Torres Vedras, silently expecting that period which should again put the French army in motion.

The French army being no longer able to remain
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most judicious plan, was to follow that which Lord Wellington had hitherto undeviatingly pursued—of acting solely or almost entirely on the defensive—of never attacking except where there was a certain object to gain—of occupying the French armies in places where daily supply was precarious—and of always following his enemy closely whenever he was obliged to retreat.

The excellent effects of this system are now about to develop themselves.

in the positions which they had so long occupied at Santarem and its vicinity, they began to retire on the night of the 5th of March, when Lord Wellington on the following day, at an early hour, put the whole British army in motion to follow them.*

Their

* A private letter describes the retreat in the following terms :

“ I have been for some weeks in view of Santarem, and saw at last, with pleasure, some symptoms of the French abandoning it. The first was setting fire to one of the principal convents in the upper town, and part of the lower town ; the volume of smoke was immense for three days. On the fourth morning, some information to depend on reached us, and the bugle of attack roused us from our pillows. The haze of the morning clearing up, we could easily perceive the out sentinels were men of straw, and proved quite passive. In fact, a better managed retreat was never executed. Not a vestige of a dollar's worth remained. Being at the outposts with the 14th dragoons and 1st royals, I entered with them ; and three miserable deserters who had hid themselves were, with one too ill to move, the only enemy to be found.

“ Such a scene of horror, misery, and desolation, scarce ever saluted the eye of man. Smoking ruins, the accumulated filth of months, horses and human bodies putrefied to suffocation nearly, caused to many a vomiting ! The houses unburnt, with scarcely a vestige of wood—floors, windows, ceilings, roofs burnt—and where the sick had expired, there left to decay ! The number left was great. Every church demolished, the tombs opened for searching after hidden plate, every altarpiece universally destroyed, and the effluvia so offensive as to defy describing. In some gardens, the miserable heads, undecayed, stuck up like scarecrows ; in some wells, a body floating.

“ Down a precipice to which we were invited by prospect to look, the human and the animal carcasses, mingled in dung, repulsed our senses, and shudderingly vibrated the soul at the savage, horrible, diabolical acts of a French army. Greater spirits, better discipline, and more order, never attended an army than this. But to see the country, is to weep for the horrors of war. Such horrid excess I never saw before. Every town, village, or cottage, destroyed. The growing nursery, and the wild grove, each havocked for destruction's sake. The pot that refined the oil broken ; the wine press burnt, for burning's sake ; the grape vines destroyed as noxious weeds ; the furniture unburnt, thrown from the windows, and with carriages, &c. made a bonfire of ; the large libraries strewed over the land in remnants of paper ; the noble convent in ashes, and the poor, unhappy, aged inhabitants, unable to flee, hung around as ornamenting the walls, ten or twelve in a place.

“ To bear the semblance of a female, was to be tortured ; to be an infant, to be a sacrifice.

“ One

Movements of the enemy.

Their first movements indicated an intention to collect a force at Thomar; he, therefore, marched upon that town, on the 8th, a considerable body of troops formed of a part of Marshal Sir William Beresford's corps, under Major-General the Honourable William Stewart, which had crossed the Tagus at Abrantes and afterwards the Zézere, and of the 4th and 6th, and part of the first divisions of infantry, and two brigades of British cavalry. The enemy, however, continued their march towards the Mondego, having one corps on the road to Espinhal; General Loison's division on the road of Anciao; and the remainder of their army towards Pombal. These last were followed, and never lost sight of by the light division, and the Royal Dragoons, and 1st Hussars, who annoyed them so closely as to take about two hundred prisoners.

On the 9th of March, the enemy collected in front of Pombal a considerable force, amounting to three divisions of their army; but even this they were not permitted to do unmolested; for the Hussars, which with the Royal Dragoons, and light division, were immediately in their front, distinguished themselves much in a charge which they found a favourable opportunity

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portunity

"One circumstance, almost beyond credibility to be committed by human beings in the heart of Europe, and the nineteenth century; a convent of eleven nuns, with two priests, were escaping in a boat; unhappily they were too late; and, overtaken near Villa Franca, the priests were one shot and one drowned. One only of the nuns was young; she was instantly violated, as well as the rest; and the old age of 65 was no defence against these savages. These very nuns were thus treated successively by numbers, and confined until disease made them loathsome to the hell hounds themselves.

"When a flag of truce introduced them to us, the sight was most shocking. Every one tried to comfort them, and they were immediately taken care of and conducted by water to Lisbon, with every comfort and consolation their unhappy case would admit of."

When the British army entered Santarem they observed a French sentence written on the walls, implying, that "a good soldier ought to have the heart of a lion, the strength of a horse, the appetite of a mouse, and the humanity of a brute"

portunity of making, under the command of Colonel Arenschildt.

So rapid, indeed, had been the movements in advance of the pursuing army, that a detachment of the 16th Light Dragoons under Lieutenant Weyland, which had been in observation of the enemy near Leyria, made prisoners a detachment consisting of thirty dragoons on that morning; and had followed the enemy from Leyria, and arrived on the ground just in time to assist their friends the hussars in their charge.

Though a part of the British army was so far in advance, yet Lord Wellington could not collect a sufficient body of troops to commence any serious attack upon the enemy, before the 11th,* when a considerable force was brought up including the light divisions of infantry and all the British cavalry; all of which joined upon the ground immediately in front of the enemy, who had commenced their retreat from their position during the night.

The enemy now made an attempt to hold the ancient castle of Pombal, but were driven from it by the advance under the command of Major-Generals Sir William Erskine and Slade; but a strong corps of the enemy under General Montbrun was enabled to hold the ground on the other side of the town, as our troops had not arrived in time to complete the dispositions for the attack, before it was dark.

In the night of the 11th, the enemy retired; and on the 12th the sixth corps of their army with General Montbrun's cavalry took up a strong position at the end of a defile between Redinha and Pombal, with their right in a wood upon the Loura River, and their left extending towards the high ground above the River of Redinha. This town was in the rear.

Lord

* On this very day, the 11th of March, Badajoz surrendered to Marshal Soult after a very honourable resistance.

Attack on the rear guard.

Lord Wellington immediately led to the attack, with the divisions of light infantry, General Pack's brigade, and the cavalry; the other troops being in reserve.

The post in the wood upon their right was first forced by Sir William Erskine with the light division, when his Lordship was enabled to form the British troops in the plain beyond the defile; and the division under General Picton was formed in two lines in the skirts of the wood upon the right. By the other dispositions for the main attack, General Cole's division was in two lines in the centre, having General Pack's brigade supporting their right, and the light division in two lines on their left. These again were supported in the rear by the British cavalry, and three other divisions of infantry in reserve.

The whole of the troops were thus formed with great accuracy and alacrity, and Lieutenant-General Sir Brent Spencer led the line against the enemy's position on the height, from which they were immediately driven, with the loss of many men killed and wounded, and some prisoners. The conduct of the 52d regiment and of the Portuguese Caçadores on this occasion was very brilliant; and Lord Wellington himself said in his public dispatches, that he had never seen the French infantry driven from a wood in a more gallant style.

Thus far their defeat was complete; but as there was only one narrow bridge, and a ford close to it, over the Redinha river, over which the British light troops actually passed with the enemy, and these passages at the same time were commanded by the French artillery, some time elapsed before a sufficient number of troops could be passed over to make a fresh disposition to attack the heights in which they had again taken post. A division, however, passed over; and, by manœuvring upon their flanks, obliged them to retire upon their main body at Condeixa.

Even there they were pursued; and, on the 13th,
9 Lord

Horrid atrocities at Leyria.

Lord Wellington observed them sending off their baggage; and, judging from their movements that they felt themselves hard pressed, he immediately marched a division under Major-General Picton, through the mountains upon their left, towards the only road open for their retreat, which had the instant effect of dislodging them from their strong position at Condeixa: after which a communication was opened with Coimbra, and a detachment of cavalry taken prisoners. A considerable part of the enemy's force was found in a very strong position at Casal Nova, the next morning, but the light infantry drove in their outposts; and as Lord Wellington observed that he could only dislodge them by movements upon their flanks, a series of movements to that effect were immediately put in force, which obliged them to abandon all the positions which they successively attempted to take in the mountains; the whole of their rear-guard, consisting of two corps d'armée, being thus driven back upon the main body at Miranda de Corvo, upon the river Esa, with a considerable loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners.*

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* A letter written on the spot says, "It is impossible to describe the scenes of horror of which I have been an eye-witness, and which will for ever brand the name of Massena with execration. It is hard for any body to believe that human nature could be guilty of such enormous and wanton wickedness.

The city of Leyria had been on fire eleven days when I was there, and was burning still. Every thing that could be taken away was removed, and the rest destroyed. The images in the churches were cut in pieces; the graves were actually opened for the sake of plunder. The nuns and friars at all the towns to which we came had fled to the mountains; their convents were destroyed, and we found none but a few Portuguese perishing with hunger and ill treatment. At every place where we halted, if we saw any thing like a house with a door standing, we made it our head-quarters, and took possession of any table or chair that might have escaped the general devastation, as the mansions had no tenants to dispute our rights. All was dreadful silence and desolation. The floors of almost every house had been pulled up wherever we passed, particularly at Leyria, where there were about twelve miserable

The result of these spirited and well timed operations was the saving of Coimbra and Upper Beira from their hostile ravages, whilst a communication was opened with the northern provinces, and the enemy themselves were obliged to retreat by the road to Ponte de Marcella; in which route Lord Wellington expected that the militia would be able to annoy them in flank, whilst the allied army should press upon their rear. The whole country indeed afforded many advantageous positions to a retreating army, of which, as his Lordship candidly observed, they shewed that they knew how to avail themselves: but they were obliged to retreat in one solid mass, covering their rear in every march by the operations of a strong rear-guard in the various strong positions they might fall in with; and so great were the inconveniences and difficulties connected with this mode of retreat, that before they quitted their position they were obliged to destroy a part of their cannon and ammunition, and afterwards to blow up much which their horses could not carry away.*

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miserable wretches who had been unable to move from wounds and famine; some of whom expired before us. The city, four years ago, contained 30,000 inhabitants. Libraries were burned and scattered; and it seemed to be the intention of the enemy to leave a dreadful memorial of their fury, that never should be effaced from the recollection of the country."

* Lord Wellington observed that they had no provisions except what they had plundered on the spot; or having plundered, what the soldiers carried on their backs; and some live cattle. He added that their conduct throughout the retreat was marked by a barbarity seldom equalled, and never surpassed. Even in the towns of Torres Novas, Thomar, &c. in which the head-quarters of some of the corps had been for four months, and in which the inhabitants had been induced by promises of good treatment to remain, these poor people were yet plundered and many of their houses destroyed on the first night of the enemy withdrawing from their position; after which they burned every town through which they passed. Even the convent of Alcobaça was burnt by orders from head-quarters; the bishop's palace, and the whole town of Leyria, in which General Drouet had had his head-quarters, shared the same fate; and there was not an inhabitant of the country,

of

Meditated attack on the Ceira.

On the 14th, the divisions of Generals Cole and Nightingale joined at Espinhal ; and this movement affording Lord Wellington the means of turning the enemy's strong position at Miranda de Corvo, they abandoned it that very night, destroying a great number of carriages, burying and otherwise destroying or concealing, the ammunition which they had carried, and also much of their baggage ; whilst their road of march was strewed with the carcasses of men and animals, and the wreck of their equipments.

On the 15th, his Lordship found the enemy's whole army in a very strong position on the river Ceira, having one corps as an advanced guard, in front of Foy d' Aronce on the hither side of the river. He immediately made arrangements to drive in this post, preparatory to the movements which it might be expedient to make to cross the Ceira the next morning, when the different detachments performed a number of masterly evolutions in a difficult country, successively driving in their posts ; but as a heavy fog had prevented the army from moving until a late hour in the morning, it was dark by the time they had gained possession of the last position of the advanced guard. In the night, however, the whole French army retreated, having destroyed the bridge on the Ceira, and left only a small rear-guard on that river.

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of any class or description, who had any dealings or communication with the French army, without having reason to complain of their treatment.

This is the mole, adds his Lordship, in which the promises have been performed and the assurances have been fulfilled, which were held out in the proclamation of the French commander-in-chief ; in which he told the inhabitants of Portugal that he was not come to make war upon them, but with a powerful army of one hundred and ten thousand men, to drive the English into the sea. It is to be hoped, he continues, that the example of what has occurred in this country, will teach the people of Portugal and other nations, what value they ought to place on such promises and assurances, and that there is no security for life, or for any thing which renders life valuable, excepting decided resistance to the enemy.

The losses of the British army in these several attacks were trifling in the extreme; and the enemy continued their retreat during the remainder of the month, towards the frontier, Massena feeling himself obliged to facilitate his various movements by the abandonment of his wounded, the destruction of baggage, and whatever could be considered as an incumbrance.*

The British army still continued in advance and harassing them upon every occasion, but not sufficiently.

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* The following extract from the journal of an officer on the spot will serve to illustrate the horrors of French barbarity, even some months afterward:—

“Marched in the evening from Valada to Santarem, twelve miles, keeping the Tagus in view the greater part of the way. Santarem, or Santaree, as the Portuguese call it, is on the summit of a hill, and at a distance appears a place of great consequence. It is of considerable extent; but in many places little better than a heap of ruins, since it was plundered by the French. There are still many vestiges of its former greatness, particularly the churches and convents. As usual, there was neither bed nor billet to be had; and, indeed, in this part of the world there are such numbers of the smaller kind of vermin, that it is better to sleep in the air if it were not for the dew. Slept on the steps of a convent.

“Near Santarem, amid the ruins of a small village on the banks of the Tagus, immediately opposite the house in which Massena lived when Santarem was the head-quarters of the French, there are the remains of a church, in which I saw one of the most horrid spectacles I ever beheld; a number of poor children dying and dead for absolute famine.

“The parents of these children had been butchered by the French in their last retreat; and, from the general and extensive distress of the country, unable to pick up a wretched subsistence, even to support existence, had fled for refuge to the house of their God, and there patiently implored the hand of death to relieve them from their misery. They were lying on straw and rubbish. Those who were dead were emaciated, completely folded up, and ready made skeletons. There were three or four so far gone, as to be unable to eat or drink; but, for the credit and honour of British soldiers, let me gratify my feelings by mentioning, that from the moment of their arrival, the poor innocents had been fed by them, and there were large pieces of bread lying before those who were incapable of eating, and even before some who had breathed their last.

“Surely God, in his infinite justice, will eventually punish those scourges of the human race who have desolated the fairest parts of Europe, and who make every paradise a desert!”

ciently strong to attempt any general attack. Indeed in a country thus plundered by a retreating army, the pursuers must inevitably meet with considerable difficulties, and although when Lord Wellington found that the enemy retreated with great celerity from Moita, and continued the pursuit with the cavalry and the light infantry, yet he was induced to halt the remainder of the army till the supplies, which had been sent round from the Tagus to the Mondego, could arrive. In fact this halt was the more desirable, as nothing could be found in the country, and every day's march increased the distance from the magazines in the Tagus, thereby rendering the supply of the troops more difficult and precarious.

Thus the cavalry and light troops continued to annoy the enemy's rear, and a number of prisoners were taken; whilst the detached corps of the army and of the main Spanish force were enabled to attack with success the various detachments of the French army.

In this forced retreat, Massena was obliged to retreat by a road very confined; and his plan of devastation did not extend more than a league in diameter; such was the vivacity and promptitude with which he was pursued!

Indeed to set on fire thus, and destroy the places through which he passed, was neither a proof of tranquillity of spirit, or the effect of a good retreat; and was nothing but the result of the desperation of his heart; the effect of that degree of cruelty and degradation to which the French hosts have arrived. A few companies in his rear were sufficient to set all the places on fire through which they passed; but in many places the pursuing troops extinguished the fires a few minutes after these barbarians had kindled them.

Sir William Beresford was also particularly active; and, having united his whole force at Portalegre early in April, succeeded in an attack of the enemy

at Campo Mayor under the famous Mortier,* obliging them to retire across the Guadiana with a very considerable loss.†

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Late

* Mortier, who is now a marshal of the French empire, is also known by the title of Duke of Treviso. He is described as being about six feet high, forty two years of age, his figure regular, his physiognomy announcing good nature, and his appearance good, but his manners imperfect; proud of appearing in his grand costume of marshal, but still of affable address.

His father was a wealthy farmer, and gave him a good education; and, being an active citizen at the period of the revolution, obtained for his son, in 1791, a commission in a regiment of cavalry, two years after which his own good conduct obtained for him the rank of Adjutant General.

In the war of Flanders and Holland he saw much service, commanding the advanced posts; but General Sarrazin observes that he was not fond of fighting except when his comrade *Soult* was by his side.

At the place of Campo Formio, he quitted the staff, and became in the line a colonel of cavalry, and in 1799 rose to the rank of General of Brigade.

Speaking of his military talents, General Sarrazin says that he attacks with courage, but with slowness, and wants a correct military eye; but he made himself a favourite of Buonaparte by his conduct as commandant of Paris, and by the pomp with which he took care to publish his proclamation as consul for life. Yet it is remarkable that Sarrazin asserts Mortier is not the friend of the present despot, but knows that France can never be happy except by the return of the Bourbons. "As soon as Mortier shall see the good cause sufficiently strong to make success probable, he will immediately join it, and promote it with all his means."

When Mortier was at Coblenz in 1796, he married one of the daughters of the mistress of the Savage Inn. She is now Duchess of Treviso, and is said by her virtues to merit the love of her husband and the esteem of her friends.

† A letter from an officer after the action says:

"Yesterday a French captain of dragoons brought over a trumpet, demanding permission to search among the dead for his Colonel—his regiment was a fine one, with bright brass helmets, and black horse hair, exactly like what the old Romans are depicted with—many of us went out with him—it was truly a bloody scene, being almost all sabre wounds; the slain were all naked, the peasants having stripped them in the night. It was long before we could find the French colonel—he was lying on his face, his naked body weltering in blood; and, as soon as he was turned up, the officer knew him, he gave a sort of scream, and sprung off his horse, dashed his helmet on the ground, knelt by the body, took the bloody hand and kissed it many times in an agony of grief; it was an affecting and awful scene.

"I suppose

Late in March, the allied army under Lord Wellington were collected in the vicinity and in front of Celorico, with a view to dislodge the enemy from the position which they had taken upon Guarda; and on the 29th a large proportion of the British force having advanced in five columns, supported by the reserve and the Portuguese militia, the French army abandoned their position without firing a shot, and retired upon Sabugal * on the banks of the Coa, followed by the cavalry who took many prisoners: several successive and successful attacks taking place upon their rear, by the cavalry and horse artillery.

Early in April, the French army occupied a position on the Upper Coa, having their right at Rovina, and guarding the ford of Repoilla de Coa with a detachment at the bridge of Ferrerias: and their left at Sabugal, with a corps at Alfayates.

The right of the British army was opposite Sabugal, and the left at the bridge of Ferrerias, nearly in contact with the enemy's right.

In this position Lord Wellington determined upon an attack upon the rear guard; and, as a preparatory step, ordered the Portuguese militia under General

"I suppose there were about 600 naked dead bodies lying on the ground at one view—the French colonel was killed by a corporal of the 13th; this corporal had killed one of his men, and he was so enraged that he sallied out himself and attacked the corporal—who was well mounted and a good swordsman, as was the colonel himself—both defended for some time, the corporal cut him twice in the face, his helmet came off at the second, when the corporal slew him by a cut which nearly cleft his skull asunder, cutting in as deep as the nose through the brain.

"Went to see Sabugal, which is completely sacked and pillaged, and, like many other towns north of the Tagus, in a great measure uninhabited. Here are seen very fine chesnut trees, many of prodigious thickness, not less than twelve or fourteen yards in circumference.

*"Sabugal is situated on the Coa, which at this time of the year is beautifully clear and placid, but is a mere stream. There is here an old castle totally defenceless. The convent is gutted, and the houses as usual are without doors or windows."

Journal of an Officer. July 1811.

French rear guard defeated.

ral Trant and Colonel Wilson to cross the Coa below Almeida, for the purpose of threatening the communication of that place with Ciudad Rodrigo and the enemy's army.

In this attack there were some difficulties to surmount, for the river Coa is difficult of access throughout its whole course ; and the position which the enemy had taken was very strong, and could only be approached on the left. The troops were therefore put in motion on the morning of the 3d of April, to turn the enemy's left above Sabugal, and to force the passage of the bridge of that town ; with the exception of a small force which was left to observe the French posts at the bridge of Ferrerias.

The enemy's rear guard were in a strong position with their right upon a height immediately above the bridge and town of Sabugal, and their left extending along the road to Alfayates, to a height which commanded all the approaches to Sabugal, from the fords of the Coa, above the town. It was intended to turn the left of this corps ; and, accordingly, the light division and the cavalry under Major Generals Sir William Erskine and Slade were to cross the Coa at two fords on their right, a division under General Picton at a ford on the left, and the artillery at the bridge of Sabugal.

A brigade of the light division were the first that crossed the Coa, with two squadrons of cavalry ; when part of the 95th, with some Portuguese, and supported by the 43d regiment, drove in the enemy's picquets ; but at this moment a storm of rain came on which rendered it impossible to see any thing, when these gallant troops having pushed on in pursuit, came upon the left of the main body, which it had been intended they should turn.

In consequence of this the light troops were driven back upon the 43d regiment ; and as soon as the atmosphere became clear, the enemy having perceived that the body which had advanced were not strong, attacked them in a solid column, supported by cavalry

Spirited skirmish.

valry and artillery. These troops, however, repulsed this attack, and advanced in pursuit upon the enemy's position, where they were attacked by a fresh column on their left, and were charged by the French hussars upon their right. On this they retired and took post behind a wall, from which post they again repulsed the enemy; and advanced a second time in pursuit of them, and took from them a howitzer. They were, however, again attacked by a fresh column with cavalry, and again retired to their post, where they were joined by the other light brigade. With this accumulation of force, they again advanced to the attack, where they were again attacked by a fresh column with cavalry, which charged their right, and obliged them again to take post in an enclosure upon the top of the height, from whence they could protect the howitzer which the 40th had taken, and from this they again drove back the enemy.

The French were now making arrangements for a fresh attack upon this post, which Colonel Beckwith and his party had so gallantly defended, and had actually moved a column upon the left, when the light infantry of General Picton's brigade, supported by the Honourable General Colville with his brigade, opened their fire upon them.

At the same moment the head of Major General Dunlop's column crossed the bridge of the Coa, and ascended the heights on the right flank of the enemy; and the cavalry at the same time appearing on the high ground in rear of their left, the whole of the enemy's force immediately retired across the hills towards Rondo, leaving the howitzer in the possession of those who had so gallantly gained and preserved it, and about two hundred killed in the ground, with six officers and three hundred prisoners left in the hands of the allied army.*

Finding

* In noticing the occurrences of this day, Lord Wellington observed, that although the operations were, through unavoidable accidents,

Finding themselves thus closely harassed, the enemy continued their retreat during all the succeeding night and the next morning; and entered on the frontiers of Spain on the 4th, thus leaving *Portugal free*. They continued their retreat, and crossed the Agueda a few days after; whilst the allied army took up their position upon the *Duas Casas*, a post which General Craufurd had occupied with his advanced guard during the latter part of the preceding siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; and the advanced posts were soon pushed as far forward as the banks of the Agueda.

Lord Wellington, about the latter end of April, having made arrangements for the blockade of Almeida, and having reason to believe that the enemy's army would not be in a situation for some time to attempt the relief of that fortress, even if they should be so inclined, took the advantage of this momentary discontinuance of active operations with respect to his own army, to proceed for Estremadura to the corps under Sir William Beresford. In short his active mind was every where, and he shrunk from no fatigue or privation, to have his person every where also.

With Sir William's army, he found every thing in an active state, and a system of desultory warfare

dents, not performed in the manner intended, yet that he considered the action fought by the light division, by Colonel Beckwith's brigade principally, with the whole of the 2d division of the French army, to be one of the most glorious that British troops were ever engaged in.

It was impossible, he added, for any officer to conduct himself with more ability and gallantry than Colonel Beckwith. The action was commenced by an unavoidable accident to which all operations are liable; but having been commenced, it would have been impossible to withdraw from the ground, without risking the loss of the object of the general movements; and it was desirable to obtain possession, if possible, of the top of the hill, from which the enemy had made so many attacks with advantage, on the first position taken up by the 43d regiment.

fare constantly carrying on, to the great annoyance of the enemy.

The operations of this early part of the campaign may thus be considered as decisive: and the brilliant successes of the allied army were celebrated by every demonstration of joy which could mark the gratitude of the Portuguese for the exertions of the British troops in their behalf, and the general satisfaction inspired by the salvation of their country.

Te Deum was sung in all the churches; the city of Lisbon was splendidly illuminated; and, in addition to the general popular expression, the regency sent the most complimentary addresses to Lord Wellington and Sir William Beresford. One great object of Lord Wellington, in his visit to the army in Estremadura, was to superintend the arrangements for the siege of Badajos by Marshal Beresford's army; and this being accomplished, he set off again on his return to his own troops on the banks of the Agueda and Coa; about which time the town of Olivenza, after some spirited attacks, had surrendered to Major General Cole.

The gallant affair of **FUENTE D'HONOR** was now approaching; it is necessary, therefore, to enter a little more into detail, on the anterior movements of the two armies; the affair being in itself so critical, as at one time to have given considerable advantages to the French, had they known how to profit of them; but all of which were immediately retrieved by the skill of the British General, and the gallantry of his army.

On the 2d of May the enemy's whole force, consisting of three corps d'armée, and all the cavalry which they could possibly collect in Castile and Leon, including about nine hundred of the Imperial guard, crossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo.

As Lord Wellington's object in maintaining a position between the Coa and the Agueda, after the enemy had retired from the former, was to blockade Almeida,

Positions of the British.

meida, which place, he had learnt by intercepted letters, and other information, was ill supplied with provisions for its garrison; and, as the enemy were infinitely superior to the British army in cavalry, he did not give any opposition to their march, and they passed the Azava on the evening mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Gallegos.

On the 3d in the morning, they continued their march in three columns, towards Duas Casas; two of which proceeded to the vicinity of Alameda and Fort Conception, and the third, consisting of the whole of the cavalry, and two other corps of infantry, proceeding straight forward.

The allied army had been cantoned along the river Duas Casas, and on the sources of the Azava; the light division being at Gallegos and Espeja. This last fell back upon Fuentes d'Honor, a village on the Duas Casas, with the British cavalry, in proportion as the enemy advanced, and the 1st, 3d, and 7th divisions were collected at that place; and the 6th division, under Major-General Campbell, observed the bridge at Alameda; whilst Major-General Sir William Erskine, with the 5th division, was at the passages of the Duas Casas, at Fort Conception, and Aldea D'Obispo. Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, with the Queen's regiment, kept the blockade of Almeida; and Lord Wellington prevailed on the gallant partizan, Don Julian Sanchez, to occupy Nave d'Avaz with his corps of Spanish cavalry and infantry.

The Light Division were moved in the evening to join General Campbell, upon finding that the enemy were in strength in that quarter, and they were brought back again to Fuentes d'Honor, on the morning of the 5th, when it was found that a corps of the enemy had proceeded to strengthen their left.

Shortly after the enemy had formed on the ground on the right of the Duas Casas, in the afternoon of the 3d, they attacked the village of Fuentes with a

Attack of Fuentes d'Honor.

very large force; but it was defended in the most gallant manner by a much inferior number,* who maintained their position with great perseverance, when Lord Wellington, whose eye was every where, having observed the repeated efforts which the enemy were making to obtain possession of the village, and being fully aware of the advantage which they would derive from that possession in their subsequent operations, immediately reinforced it in succession with the 70th, 79th, and 24th regiments, when the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, at the head of the 71st, charged the assailants, and drove them from the part of the village of which they had obtained momentary possession.

Nearly at this time, Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, who commanded in advance, was wounded, and the command devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron of the 79th. The contest continued until night, when the British troops remained in possession of the entire village.

Lord Wellington, judging that the 71st and 79th regiments, with the 2d battalion of the 24th to support them, were sufficient for the defence of the village, then withdrew the Light Infantry battalions and the 83d, for service in another part of his line.

The enemy attempted nothing further on the 4th, than to reconnoitre the positions which the British army had occupied on the Duas Casas river; and, during that night, they moved General Junot's corps from Alameda to the left of the position occupied by their 6th corps, opposite to Fuentes. From the course of the reconnoissance of that day, Lord Wellington had imagined, that the enemy would make
another

* The detachment was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Williams of the 60th regiment, in command of the light infantry battalions of General Picton's division, supported by the light infantry of General Nightingale's brigade, the light infantry of General Howard's brigade, and that of the German legion, together with the second battalion of the 83d regiment.

Battle of Fuentes.

another attempt to gain possession of Fuentes d'Honor, and of the ground occupied by the troops behind that village, by crossing the Duas Casas at Poya Velho; he, therefore, in the evening moved Major-General Houston's division to the right, in order, if possible, to protect that passage.

On the morning of the 5th, a large body of the enemy appeared in two columns, with all the cavalry, on the opposite side of the valley of the Duas Casas to Poya Velho; and as two other corps of the French also made a movement to their left, the light division, which had been brought back from the vicinity of Alameda, was sent, with the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, to support General Houston's division; whilst the 1st and 3d divisions of the British made a movement along the ridge between the Turon and Duas Casas rivers, corresponding to that of the two corps of the enemy.

With an enemy so superior in numbers, the difficulty of defending so extended a line, as the British were obliged to occupy, must have been very great; for had they failed in any one part of it, or attempted to concentrate, they must have been turned; and, perhaps, defeated; it is not, therefore, too much to say, that the prudence and prescience of Lord Wellington, with respect to every hostile movement, and the activity and alertness of the troops in executing his counteracting manœuvres, were more worthy of admiration on this occasion than even the personal gallantry displayed by all.

The general action now commenced by the 8th corps of the French attacking General Houston's advanced guard consisting of the 85th regiment under Major McIntosh, and the 2d Portuguese Caçadores under Lieutenant-Colonel Nixon. These corps were shortly after obliged to retire; but they did it in good order, though with some loss: and the enemy's corps being thus established at Poya Velho, they availed themselves of this advantage, by sending

forward their cavalry to turn the right of the 7th British division, between Poya Velho and Nave d'Avar, from which place Don Julian Sanchez had been obliged to retire.

This was a most critical moment for the British army; but, without hazarding an observation, we shall simply state the judicious movements, which checked its consequences, and turned the fortune of the day.

The cavalry who had turned the post, occupied by General Houstoun, immediately charged; but their advanced guard was met by two or three squadrons of the different regiments of British dragoons, and instantly driven back, leaving Colonel La Motte of the 13th Chasseurs, and some other prisoners. At the same moment their main body was checked and obliged to retire, by the well directed fire of Major-General Houstoun's division. During the whole of this business Lord Wellington was on the spot, and afterwards spoke in high terms of the conduct of the Chasseurs Britanniques, and of a detachment of the Duke of Brunswick's light infantry. He saw the charge repulsed; he immediately concentrated part of the British force towards the left, and moved the 7th and light divisions, and the cavalry, from Poya Velho towards Fuentes d'Honor, and the other two divisions. To the prudence of Lord Wellington in thus concentrating his line, we may say that the safety of the British army was in a great measure owing; whilst the steadiness of the troops presented such a front to the enemy, as effectually checked them from taking advantage of the moment to make an attack in force. Indeed, they were sufficiently occupied in another part of the line; and the event fully justified the Commander-in-Chief; for he had extended his line, to the occupation of Poya Velho and its vicinity, in hopes that he should be able to maintain the communication across the Coa by Sabugal, as well as provide for the blockade, which ob-
jects

jects he now saw were incompatible with each other; and he, therefore, abandoned that which was the least important, placing the light division in reserve, in the rear of the left of the 1st division, on some commanding ground beyond the Turon, which protected the right flank and rear of that division, covered the communication with the Coa, and prevented that of the enemy with Almeida, by the roads between the Turon and that river.

His Lordship himself very candidly allowed in his dispatches, that the circumstances were very critical; but the movements of the troops were most admirably conducted by Generals Houstoun, Craufurd, and Cotton; as the 7th division was covered on its passage of the Turon, by the light division under General Craufurd, whilst it, in its turn, was covered by the British cavalry, in its march to join the 1st division of the army.

The British army now took up entirely a new position, extending along the high ground from the Turon to the Duas Casas. This disposition was most admirable; every part of the line forming a mutual defence to the next, and vice versâ. For the 7th division, on the left of the Turon, covered the rear of the right; the 1st division, in two lines, were on the right; Colonel Ashworth's brigade, in two lines, in the centre; and the 3d division, in two lines, on the left. The light division and British cavalry were in reserve; and the village of Fuentes d'Honor on the left of all.

Such confidence did Lord Wellington now place on this new arrangement, that when Don Julian Sanchez's * infantry joined the 7th division in Freneda, he

* The exertions of the Guerillas were still active and unceasing; among others was Don Julian, or *Hulian* as the Spaniards call him, who is Captain General of one district. He has long been the terror of the French, and the hope of his own countrymen.

he immediately sent him with his cavalry to endeavour to interrupt the enemy's communication with Ciudad Rodrigo. The enemy too were fully sensible of the military importance of these movements ; for, from this moment, all their efforts on the right were confined to a cannonade, and to some trifling charges of their cavalry, upon the advanced posts.

In one of these affairs, a very serious repulse was given to the enemy, by the picquets of the 1st division, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hill of the 3d regiment of guards ; but, as they were afterwards falling back, they did not see the direction of another in sufficient time to form and oppose it, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hill was taken prisoner, and many men were wounded, and some taken, before a detachment of the British cavalry could move up to their support.

Immediately after, the 2d battalion of the 42d under Lord Blantyre also repulsed a heavy charge of the cavalry directed against them.

The enemy also made an attempt to push a body of light infantry down the ravine of the Turon, to the right of the 1st division ; but this was repulsed by the light infantry of the guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Guise, assisted by five companies of the 95th under Captain O'Hara.

Thus were they completely checked upon the right ; but their principal effort, throughout the whole of the day, was directed against Fuentes d'Honor. Here however, although the whole of their six corps were

He had his father, mother, and sister, murdered by the French ; and has, like Hannibal, sworn eternal hatred to them, whether in peace or war. After being expelled from the patrimony of his ancestors, it was not long before he had an opportunity of avenging the death of his relatives. Returning with his band of Guerillas from the mountains, he found a French Colonel, who had been a great aggressor in that part of the country ; and, upbraiding him for his numberless cruelties, told him, that he was Don Julian, who had now the satisfaction of putting a stop to his villanies, and sending him to another tribunal to account for them. This was in the same house in which his father was murdered.

were at different periods of the day employed to attack it, they could never gain more than a temporary possession of it. It was defended by the 24th, 71st, and 79th regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, supported by some light infantry battalions, the picquets of the 3d division, and the Portuguese corps. Here again as in the preceding attack, on a former day, the commanding officer was wounded, when the defence devolved upon the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, who had distinguished himself so nobly by charging at the head of the 71st regiment, on the preceding day.

The troops defending Fuentes were besides supported, when pressed by the enemy, by the 74th and 88th; and on one of these occasions, the 88th, with the 71st and 79th, under the command of Colonel Mackinnon, charged the enemy and drove them through the village.

In this quarter, the contest lasted till night, when the British troops were in full possession of the village; after which the enemy, completely repulsed on all sides, attempted no further attacks upon the British positions. No signal was their defeat, for defeat it certainly was, that in the course of the night of the 9th they commenced a retrograde movement from their position at Duas Casas; and, at daylight in the morning of the 8th, the whole French army was in motion.

Such was the state of affairs, however, that Lord Wellington could not immediately decide whether this movement was preparatory to some fresh attempt to raise the blockade of Almeida, which the British force still kept up, or one of decided retreat; but such was his confidence in his gallant few, that he had every reason to hope they would not succeed in the first, and would therefore be obliged to have recourse to the last. It was indeed impossible for him to adopt any absolutely offensive measures against them in this movement; for their superiority in cavalry was

very great, owing to the weak state of the English horses from recent fatigue and scarcity of forage; he judged, therefore, that the result of a general action brought on by an attack of the enemy by the British army might under these circumstances have been doubtful; and if the enemy had chosen to avoid it, or if they had met it, they would, in either case, have taken advantage of the concentration of the British army for the purpose of fighting the action, to throw relief into Almeida.

In the whole of this business at Fuentes the actions were partial; yet, from the great numerical superiority of the enemy, the British loss was very great*.

No officers of rank were either killed or wounded; however, except those mentioned in the course of the narrative; and the whole numerical loss of the British and Portuguese, during the several attacks, amounted to 198 killed, 1030 wounded, and 294 missing.

The evident superiority of the British now in the Peninsula, though out numbered, may be drawn from the fact, that, at this very period, Sir William Beresford was enabled to invest Badajoz on the left side of the Guadiana, and to begin to collect stores for the attack of that place; and further by the circumstances of the enemy, under Massena, having retired on the 8th to the woods between Espega, Gallegos, and Fuentes d' Honor, in which position their whole army was concentrated on the following day, when, on the evening of the 9th, the whole broke up and retired
across

* The city of London on the 9th of May not only voted thanks to Lord Wellington, and the gallant army under his command; but also agreed to present him with an elegant sword value 200 guineas. Some objections indeed were made to this measure, but it was at length finally carried in spite of all invidious opposition.

Thanks also were voted by the two Houses of the Legislature, and every demonstration of public joy and public honors manifested, as some reward for such a long series of heroic gallantry.

Ingenious retreat of the French.

across the Azava, covering their retreat by their numerous cavalry, and crossing the Agueda on the 20th, thereby leaving Almeida to its fate.

As a proof of the consequences of his victory, Lord Wellington immediately established his advanced posts upon the Azava and on the Lower Agueda, whilst the main body of his army were put into cantonments on the *Duas Casas* *.

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* Almeida was now left to the attacks of the allied army; it was indeed not tenable against a regular siege, but a very well conducted manœuvre on the part of its small garrison deserves notice; for on the 10th in the evening, the 6th division having resumed the blockade, Major General Sir William Erskine was ordered to send a battalion to Barba del Puerco to guard the bridge there, which had been previously ordered on that service; but about one in the morning of the 11th, the garrison blew up some mines which they had constructed in the works, and immediately attacked the picquets by which they were observed, and forced their way through them. They fired but little, and they appeared to have marched between the bodies of troops posted to support the picquets; and in particular could not have passed far from the right of the Queen's regiment.

Upon the first alarm, Brigadier General Pack, who was at Malapartida, joined the picquets, and continued to follow and fire upon the retiring garrison, as a guide for the bodies of troops posted to support the picquets in the blockade; whilst Major General Campbell marched from Malapartida with a part of the 1st battalion of the 36th. But the garrison continued their march in a solid compact body without firing, and were well guided between the positions occupied by the British troops.

It happened unfortunately too, that the 4th regiment, which was ordered to occupy Barba del Puerco, missed the road, and did not arrive there until the fugitives had reached the place, and commenced the passage of the bridge. At this moment, however, fresh troops came up, who had followed the firing; and the enemy suffered a considerable loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, but the plan had been so well concerted, that part of the 2d corps of the enemy, which were in St. Felices, formed upon the river, to protect their passage as soon as they heard the firing, and some of our troops who had crossed the river were obliged to retire with loss.

It appears that this plan had been some time in agitation; as, for several nights before, the garrison had repeatedly fired cannon in the night, and had made several feigned sorties to produce a fire of musquetry, so that when this retreat actually took place, great part of the British troops considered it as nothing more than a series of the same proceedings.

Siege of Badajoz raised.

On the night of the 15th of May Lord Wellington received dispatches from Sir William Beresford, informing him that Marshal Soult had broken up from Seville, and had advanced towards Estremadura, notwithstanding the reports which had been industriously spread that he was busily occupied in strengthening Seville, and that all his measures indicated an intention to remain on the defensive in Andalusia.

Without a moment's delay, his Lordship set out on the following morning for Villa Fermosa, and arrived at Elvas on the 19th, when he found that Sir William Beresford, in consequence of Soult's advance, had raised the siege of Badajoz, but without the loss of ordnance, or stores of any description, and had formed a junction with the Spanish Generals Castanos and Blake at Albuera on the 15th*.

Towards

* After the battle of Almcida, Lord Wellington rode to Elvas, but arrived the morning after the affair at Badajoz. His wish was so great to be present, that he killed three horses in the journey, which he performed in three days. On his arrival at a river, he found a bridge, which he had ordered to be constructed, not ready, and he swam his horse across; the stream was very rapid, and the two dragoons who followed him were drowned. His Lordship was saved by the superior strength of his horse.

On the 16th of May, three days previous to his Lordship's arrival at Elvas, every measure was taken to receive the enemy under Soult, who had appeared in front on the preceding evening, and the whole allied force was formed in two lines, nearly parallel to the river Albuera, on the ridge of the gradual ascent rising from that river, and covering the roads to Badajoz and Valverde**.

The enemy, in the morning of the 16th, did not long delay his attack; at eight o'clock he was observed to be in movement, and his cavalry

** General Blake's corps was on the right in two lines; its left on the Valverde road joined the right of Major General the Honourable William Stewart's division, the left of which reached the Badajoz road; where commenced the right of Major General Hamilton's division, which closed the left of the line. General Coles's division, with one brigade of General Hamilton's, formed the second line of the arrangement of the British and Portuguese army.

Towards the latter end of May, the British army having assembled at Campo Mayor, Lord Wellington

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cavalry was seen passing the rivulet of Albuera considerably above the right of the allies, and shortly after he marched out of the opposite wood a strong force of cavalry, and two heavy columns of infantry, pointing them to the front of the line, as if to attack the village and bridge of Albuera; during this time, under cover of his vastly superior cavalry, he was filing the principal body of his infantry over the river beyond the right, and it was not long before his intention appeared to be to turn the allies by that flank, and cut them off from Valverde. Major-General Cole's division was therefore ordered to form an oblique line to the rear of the right, with his own right thrown back, and the intention of the enemy to attack on the right becoming now evident, Marshal Beresford requested General Blake to form part of his first line and all his second to that front, which was done.

Soult commenced the attack at nine o'clock, not ceasing at the same time to menace the left; and, after a strong and gallant resistance of the Spanish troops, he gained the heights upon which they had been formed. At this critical moment, the divisions of Generals Stewart and Hamilton were brought up to the left of the Spanish line, and formed in contiguous close columns of battalions, so as to be moveable in any direction, whilst the Portuguese cavalry under General Otway remained at some distance on the left, to check any attempt of the enemy below the village.

As the heights the enemy had gained raked and entirely commanded the whole allied position, it became necessary to make every effort to retake and maintain them; and a noble one was made by the division of General Stewart, headed by that gallant officer.

Nearly at the beginning of the enemy's attack, a heavy storm of rain came on, which, with the smoke of the firing, rendered it impossible to discern any thing distinctly. This, with the nature of the ground, had been extremely favourable to the enemy, in forming his columns, and in his subsequent attack. These circumstances too, operated very unfortunately at this moment, when the right brigade of General Stewart's division, under Lieutenant Colonel Colbourne, first came into action, and behaved in the most gallant manner, and finding that the enemy's column could not be shaken by their fire, proceeded to attack it with the bayonet; but, while in the act of charging, a body of Polish lancers, (cavalry) which the obscurity of the atmosphere, and the nature of the ground had concealed (and which was, besides, mistaken by those of the brigade when discovered for Spanish cavalry, and therefore not fired upon) turned the brigade, which being thus attacked unexpectedly in the rear was unfortunately broken, and suffered immensely. The 31st regiment, being the left one of the brigade, alone escaped this charge; and under the command

ton issued orders for the close investment of Badajoz on the right bank of the Guadiana, in addition to the former

command of Major L'Estrange, kept its ground until the arrival of the 3d brigade under Major General Houghton. The conduct of this brigade was most conspicuously gallant, the brave Major-General falling, pierced by wounds, whilst cheering his men to the charge *.

Though the enemy's principal attack was on this point of the right, he also made a continual attempt upon that part of the original front towards the village and bridge, which were defended in the most gallant manner by Major-General Baron Alten, and the light infantry brigade of the German legion, whose conduct was remarkably steady throughout. This point now formed the left of the allied army, and General Hamilton's division had been brought up there, he being left to direct its defence.

When the infantry attempted to force the allied line, the enemy's cavalry also endeavoured to turn it; but his endeavours were completely out-manœuvred by the allied cavalry, though much inferior in number, directed by the Hon. Major General Lumley.

At this moment, the fortune of the day, if not turned, was at least wonderfully aided by a most judicious movement of Major-General Cole, who brought up his left, marching in line to attack the left of the enemy, and arrived most opportunely to contribute, with the charges of the brigades of General Stewart's division, to force the enemy to abandon his situation on the heights, and retire precipitately, and to take refuge under his reserve.

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* During the hottest of the action, an officer, Ensign Thomson, was called on to surrender the colours he held; but he declared he would give them up only with his life, and he fell a victim to his bravery. Another officer, Ensign Welch, had the colour-staff he held broken by a cannon-ball, and was also severely wounded, having fallen on the field; he tore the colours from the staff, and thrust them into his bosom, where they were found after his death.

Sir William Beresford was also attacked by one of the Polish cavalry, whom he dismounted, with the intention of preserving his life; but the man, persisting in his first design, was at length killed by a dragoon.

When these Polish lancers make a charge, a red flag is suspended at the end of every lance, and that flag is so carried by the rider as to prevent the horse from seeing any other object. These red flags, during the action, terrified the British horses, and rendered every effort impracticable to make them meet the charge.

The Polish lancers committed great cruelties upon our wounded, putting several of them to death; but they were themselves overtaken during the retreat by the 3d and 14th dragoons, who killed and cut down a considerable number of them.

former investment by Sir William Beresford on the left bank, and determined to re-commence the operations

The retreating corps of the assailants were pursued by the allies to a considerable distance; and, indeed, as far as Sir William Beresford thought it prudent, considering the vast superiority of cavalry which the enemy possessed; he, therefore, contented himself with seeing them driven across the Albuera. Though beaten in his main attack, Soult still continued that near the village; on that side, however, he was never able to make the slightest impression, nor even to cross the rivulet, although a great proportion of the troops had been drawn away to support the point of the main attack; but when defeated in this latter quarter, his attempts upon the left ceased also.

Of this brilliant business, General Beresford observed, that it was impossible to enumerate every instance of discipline and valour shewn on this severely contested day; but never were troops that more valiantly or more gloriously maintained the honour of their respective countries. Of the Spanish troops, the behaviour was most gallant and honourable; and, though from the superior number and weight of the enemy's force, that part of them that were in the position attacked were obliged to cede the ground, yet it was after a gallant resistance, and they continued in good order to support their allies.

The action itself commenced, as has been stated, at nine o'clock, and continued without interruption until two in the afternoon, when the enemy being driven over the Albuera, there was nothing during the remainder of the day but skirmishing and cannonading. The French left on the field of battle about two thousand dead, and lost about one thousand prisoners; besides five generals killed and wounded; they having commenced the action with about twenty-two thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, and a numerous and heavy artillery.

The general total of the British on this day amounted to 870 killed, 2722 wounded, and 554 missing, great part of whom afterwards returned; whilst that of the Portuguese was 104 killed, 262 wounded, and about 30 missing.

The only officers of high rank of the British killed were Major-General Houghton, and Lieutenant-Colonels Sir William Myers,* of the 7th regiment,

* Sir William Myers, the gallant young hero we have thus to lament, was the only son of the late Lieutenant-General of that name. Though presenting the highest classical promise at Winchester College, so prominent, indeed, as to induce the learned and amiable Dr. Goddard to use every means in his power to detach him from military pursuits; yet his youthful ardour was not to be repressed, (he already held a commission in the half-pay,) and at the age of sixteen, in 1800, his solicitations was attended to, and he exchanged from half-pay into

tions of the siege. It was accordingly invested on the 25th of May, and ground broken on the night of the

7th regiment, and Duckworth,* (the former dying of his wounds,) but the number of wounded was very great, amongst whom were the two Generals Cole and Stewart; besides Lieutenant-Colonels Blakeney, White, Inglis, and many other gallant officers.

After the battle the enemy retired to the ground he had been formerly on; but so much afraid of an attack as to occupy it in position; and during the night he thought proper to retreat by the road he came towards Seville, leaving Badajoz to its fate, and a number of wounded to the humanity of the conquerors, who administered to them every assistance in their power.

On

the Coldstream guards, embarking with them for the memorable plains of Egypt.

Here, even on the first landing, he fell wounded by a musquet shot in the knee! On a friend's inquiring anxiously, if he was hurt?—the gallant boy smiled, said it was nothing—fainted—and was carried off the field.

In 1802 he was Lieutenant-Colonel, and then completed his military education at Wycombe; and being appointed in 1804 to the command of the 2d battalion of the 7th, or royal fuzileers, then only a regiment of recruits, from that moment all the energies of his mind were occupied in fitting them for service; and to his unceasing exertion and exemplary military zeal may in a great measure be attributed the high character for conduct and discipline, which this corps has since obtained.

High in spirit, with all the enterprising hope of youth, with all the enthusiasm of his character directed towards military fame, he went with his gallant regiment to Portugal, and there Sir Arthur Wellesley became the model of his imitation; and, young as he was, he was soon entrusted with the command of a brigade. At Talavera his conduct was highly exemplary. The brigade which he commanded was placed on the right of the line, and against him Sebastiani directed his attack, when the fuzileers, assailed in front and flank by three times their force, boldly charged in front, drove the French before them, and 500 men took ten pieces of artillery!

Peace to his gallant shade!

* Lieutenant-Colonel Duckworth, who fell so gallantly in the action, was of the 1st battalion of the 48th foot, and son to the gallant Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth.

He was only 25 years of age, and married at a very early age Miss Fanshawe, daughter of Commissioner Fanshawe, of Plymouth Dockyard. On the day that the afflicting news of his fall reached Plymouth, their only son, of four years old, lay dead!

Further anecdotes of the battle.

the 29th, the ordnance and stores for the siege having then been brought up.

In

On the part of the allies, though their loss was severe, * yet it was unavoidable, and they completely reaped the advantage which they expected by their opposition to the attempts of the enemy, who whilst forced to abandon the object for which he had almost stripped Andalusia of troops, instead of having accomplished the haughty boasts with which he harangued his troops on leaving Seville, had nothing left but to return to that city with a diminished army, and with a decreasing reputation.

By subsequent accounts, intercepted letters from General Gazan, who was left to conduct the retreat of such of the wounded as could march,

* The British in the battle scarcely amounted to eight thousand—the Portuguese to seven thousand—the Spaniards from ten to eleven thousand—making in the whole about twenty-six thousand men, whilst the French were not only superior in cavalry and artillery, but had 30,000 men in the field.

When the French drove the Spaniards, at the commencement of the action, from the height on the right, there was a shout of triumph, which was heard from one end of the line to the other. The Spaniards, although driven from the height, rallied at the bottom of the hill, turned upon the enemy, and most gallantly checked their career. No action in which the Spaniards have been engaged proves more clearly than that of Albuera how greatly it is to be lamented that they are not taught to manœuvre by officers of more experience in the art of war than their own. To a man, they evinced the most signal courage; but, owing to their want of improvements in discipline, it is difficult and hazardous, lest they should be thrown into confusion, to move them from the position which they have first occupied.

“The immense loss sustained by the French chiefly took place when the allies regained the height from which the Spaniards had previously been driven. In forcing the enemy into the low grounds towards the rivulet, the carnage caused by our musquetry and the Shrapnell shells was immense—whole ranks of the enemy were mowed down, and had we possessed any thing like an equality of cavalry, the greater part of the French army must have been taken or destroyed. It is due to the enemy to state that in the attack, during the whole battle, and in the retreat, they manifested great skill and signal courage.

“When they were at last aware that the battle was irretrievably lost, they protected their infantry by their cavalry and artillery; and having recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown when flying from the height, they retreated in good order, and formed on the opposite side of the rivulet.”

Journal of an Officer.

Siege of Badajoz.

In the early part of June, the operations were carried on with vigour, so that by the 6th of that month two breaches had been made, but neither of them practicable for an assault.

On the 6th, the fire from the outwork of St. Christoval being considered as likely to impede the progress of the siege, Lord Wellington directed that an attempt should be made to carry it by storm that night. Major-General Houstoun, who conducted the operation on the right of the Guadiana, accordingly ordered a detachment under Major Macintosh, of the 85th regiment, to proceed on that service. The troops advanced under a very heavy fire of musquetry and hand grenades from the outwork, and of shot and shells

march, amounting to four thousand, it appeared that the sum total of the enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was not less than nine thousand men.

* On the 25th of May a most brilliant affair took place between the advanced cavalry of the British and the French rear guard. Major-General Lumley who commanded in advance, having driven the enemy's rear guard from Usagre, occupied that post on the night of the 24th, placing some Spanish troops in front of the town, and the British and Portuguese cavalry in its rear with four six-pounders.

On the morning of the 25th, the whole of the enemy's cavalry advanced with five or six heavy guns; and, upon the opening of their first gun, the advanced line was ordered to retire, which they did slowly, in excellent order, and without loss; the Spanish troops filing on the main road, through the town which had been left open for them. Whilst a mutual cannonade was kept up on the heights opposite to each other, the enemy committed a most daring attempt, or rather an error, for which they were severely punished. In spite of two of the British guns, which bore directly for a few paces on the road, three of their chosen regiments of cavalry dashed rapidly through the town, and formed on the flank of the 3d dragoon guards, which corps, being concealed by a small hill, they did not see, and in front of the 4th dragoons, they themselves presenting two fronts. A charge of the 3d dragoon guards was at this moment ordered on the right, and a simultaneous movement of the 4th dragoons, at the same moment on the left, decided the point. The enemy wavered before the British cavalry reached them, and almost at the same instant they were overturned, and apparently annihilated: the contest being almost bloodless on the part of the British.

shells from the town, with the utmost intrepidity, and the best order to the bottom of the breach, the advanced guard being led by Ensign Dyas, of the 51st regiment, who volunteered to perform that duty; but they found that the enemy had cleared the rubbish from the bottom of the escarpe; and, notwithstanding that they were provided with ladders, it was impossible to mount it, and they retired with loss. After three days' continual cannonade, the breach in the wall of St. Christoval again appearing practicable, his Lordship directed that a second attempt should be made on the night of the 9th, and another detachment was ordered for the service under the command of Major M'Geachy, of the 17th Portuguese regiment, when Ensign Dyas again volunteered to lead the advance; but, on advancing at nine at night, they met with the same opposition as before, and on their arrival at the foot of the breach, found that the rubbish had been a second time completely cleared away. Major M'Geachy was killed and several of the other officers fell; yet the troops still maintained their position, although to mount was impracticable, until Major-General Houstoun sent orders for them to retire.

Lord Wellington must have been doubtless chagrined by these disappointments, for he had expected to reduce the place before the latter end of June; and he was naturally anxious to accomplish it by that time, as he then expected that Marshal Soult would receive such reinforcements as would enable him to make movements against the besieging army.

His Lordship now found that the necessary works to insure the capture of the place would require a labour of several days to complete; and, on the morning of the 10th, he received accounts that Soult was then in full force, having received considerable reinforcements even at that early period. He also received accounts which left no doubt of the destination of the French army to the southward, and that their arrival

Raising of the siege.

was expected at Merida on the 15th; he, therefore, found it necessary to order the siege to be raised, as he had not a sufficient force to carry on its operations, and at the same time to watch the movements of an overwhelming army; though he still determined to maintain the blockade.

About the middle of June the French army had advanced towards Badajos; but even then they began to feel the effects of bringing together their whole force, as even at that early period they were straitened for provisions, and kept much in check by the positions of the allies.

As it was now deemed of great importance to draw off the pressure and attack of the French armies from the Spanish troops, Lord Wellington having returned about September to the northern frontier of Portugal, made an advance with his army for the purpose of threatening Ciudad Rodrigo.

By this manœuvre he expected not only to relieve the various Spanish armies from the overwhelming pressure of the French, but also to compel the French armies to concentrate and again advance into a ravaged country, where they would meet with but little subsistence.

In fact this seems to have been a part of his general plan, which was always to keep the enemy on the alert, and never to permit it for any length of time to separate into distinct corps, or to spread itself in detachments so as to facilitate the means of support and forage. By this means, he constantly kept his own army also in an active and healthy state, as his own supplies from Lisbon and Oporto were always certain, whilst Britain was the mistress of the ocean.

Under all these considerations, he was certain of either annoying the French army to the whole proposed extent, or of gaining possession of Ciudad Rodrigo if they should not chuse to advance; in either of which cases, an object of importance would be attained.

The

The French chose, however, to adopt the former alternative, and accordingly advanced in great force from Salamanca towards Fuente Guinaldo.

It is unnecessary to trace all the movements of the hostile armies until the 4th of September, when Lord Wellington commenced the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo; but this he was obliged to raise on the 25th of September, being then in the presence of a very superior enemy, having previously, on the 21st of that month, collected the British army in positions from which he could either advance or retire without difficulty; and which would enable him to see all that was going on, and the strength of the enemy's army.

With this intention, a part of the British army occupied the range of heights on the left of the Agueda, having their advanced guards within three miles of Ciudad Rodrigo; another division was at *Fuente Guinaldo*, where Lord Wellington had ordered a position to be strengthened with some works; the light division was on the right of Agueda, having their right resting upon the mountains which separate Castile and Estremadura; Lieutenant-Colonel Graham with the left of the army was posted on the Lower Azava; whilst the sixth division, with Major-General Anson's brigade of cavalry, was at Espeja, Carpio Marialva, &c.

Mareschal del Campo Don Carlos d'Espagne observed the Lower Agueda with Don Julian Sanchez's cavalry and infantry: whilst Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, with a large proportion of the cavalry, was on the Upper Azava in the centre, with General Pack's brigade at Campillo, and rather in advance; the 5th division being in observation, in the rear of the right, at the pass of Perales, in consequence of the French General Foy having remained and collected a body of troops in Upper Estremadura.

The enemy first appeared in the plain near Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 23d, and retired again in a short time; but, on the 24th in the morning, they advanced

again in considerable force, and entered the plain by the roads of St. Spiritus and Tenebron; and before evening they had collected there all their cavalry to the amount of about six thousand men, and four divisions of infantry, of which one division were of the Imperial Guard; and the remainder of their armies were encamped on the Guadapero, immediately beyond the hills which surround the plain of Ciudad Rodrigo.

On the morning of the 25th, every thing seemed to threaten a serious attack, and the French began by sending a reconnoissance of cavalry towards the Lower Azava, consisting of about fourteen squadrons of the imperial guard, and these drove in the English posts on the right of the river; but on their passing it, the Lanciers de Berg were charged by two squadrons of the 16th and one of the 14th light dragoons, and driven back. Ashamed of being checked by such an inferior force, they attempted to rally and to return, but were fired upon briskly by the light infantry of the 61st, who had been posted in the wood by Lieutenant-General Graham, when General Anson drove them across the river, and afterwards resumed his own posts on that side.

But the enemy's attention was principally directed during the day to the position of the 3d division on the hills, between Fuente Guinaldo and Pastores. About eight in the morning they moved a column consisting of between thirty and forty squadrons of cavalry, and fourteen battalions of infantry, with twelve pieces of cannon, from Ciudad Rodrigo, in such a direction as made it doubtful whether they would attempt to ascend the hills by *Encina El Bodon*, or by the direct road to Fuente Guinaldo, and Lord Wellington was kept for a few moments in a state of indecision, until a forward movement shewed the direction of their march, when he immediately reinforced the post on the hill, over which the road passes to Guinaldo.

Attack at Fuente Guinaldo.

In the mean time, however, the small body of troops at the post gallantly sustained the whole attack of the enemy's cavalry and artillery. One regiment of French dragoons succeeded, indeed, in taking two pieces of artillery which had been posted on a rising ground on the right of the British advance; but they were immediately charged by the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment under the command of Major Ridge, and the guns retaken.

Whilst this operation was going on in the flank, an attack was made on the front by another regiment, which was repulsed in a similar manner by the 77th regiment; and the three squadrons of General Alten's cavalry repeatedly charged different bodies of the enemy as they ascended the hill.

At length the divisions of the enemy's infantry which had proceeded from Ciudad Rodrigo, being brought up to the attack on the road of Fuente Guinaldo, and Lord Wellington, seeing that they would arrive and be engaged before the coming up of the reinforcements he had ordered, determined to withdraw this advanced post, and to retire with the whole upon Fuente Guinaldo.*

In

* "Marched at 4 A. M. from Pao, through Havas and towards Aldea de Ponte—when, just in the midst of our cookery, the alarm was given that the French were approaching, in great force, on the other side of the town, and which was confirmed by an instantaneous discharge of cannon and musquetry. The beef and soup were thrown in every direction, and we stood to our arms. Two companies were ordered to a stone wall in front, to protect the movements of the division in their formation. In this position we waited the approach of the enemy. I should observe, it was an enclosed field with stone walls, and very well adapted to the operations of infantry and light troops. The attention of the enemy was however called off by a division to the left of ours, and General Dunlop thought it advisable to remove to a more advantageous position, and more protected from cavalry. We therefore moved upon a hill on the left, and formed in close columns, to support the division then engaged, if necessary. General Picton's division were likewise in reserve at nearly a similar distance.

"We had here an opportunity of calmly beholding a field of battle

Repulse of the enemy.

In performing this critical manœuvre, the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, and the 77th, were formed into one solid square, and the 21st Portuguese regiment into another, supported by Major General Alten's small body of cavalry, and the Portuguese artillery.

The enemy's cavalry immediately rushed forward, and being so superior in numbers, obliged the British cavalry to retire to the support of the Portuguese regiment; and at the same moment, the 5th and 77th were charged on three faces of the square by the French cavalry; but they halted and repulsed the attack with the utmost steadiness and gallantry.

This repulse was decisive; the whole of the rear guard continued its retreat and joined the remainder of the third division, which was also formed in squares on their march to Fuente Guinaldo; and the whole retired together in the utmost order, the enemy never

as spectators, and a most unpleasant spectacle to my feelings it was; not a man but anxiously wished that it might become general. Our guns appeared to be most advantageously placed on the skirts of a wood; their force in cavalry outnumbered ours exceedingly. For some time each side manœuvred as coolly as on a parade; sometimes advancing, covered by light troops; and sometimes retreating.

"After skirmishing in this manner for nearly two hours, a very heavy column of the enemy were seen advancing over a hill, in their rear, which seemed likely to make matters assume a more serious aspect. They advanced boldly against our guns, and received a shell, which deranged them a little, by bursting in the midst of them. They still however advanced; but, on a second shell being thrown with equal effect, they went to the right about, without again approaching our artillery. The skirmishers were frequently very hotly engaged; the royal dragoons, and the 11th light, were the only cavalry in the field, and the former absolutely offered battle to three French regiments of cavalry, superior in numbers. The royals admirably maintained the character they have so justly gained in this country; and the French appeared to admit their own inferiority, and to feel the effects of the 25th though we *had* retreated. Our men though fatigued and hungry, and without even wine or spirits, were anxious to engage, and were hammering their flints, and were making all their usual preparations.

"There were some Irish lads, whose conversation was truly laughable."

Journal of an Officer.

Retreat to Aldea de Ponte.

never attempting to make another charge upon them, but contenting themselves with following them at a respectful distance, though keeping up a fire from the artillery.

The whole British army was now in position upon Fuente Guinaldo, and the whole of the force so posted as to be en echelon, of which the centre was in the position of Guinaldo, the right upon the pass of Perales, and the left Nave d' Aver.

Even here, though in a defensive position, Lord Wellington did not desist from harassing the enemy as much as in his power, having at this very period detached Don Julian Sanchez, with a large body of cavalry, to the enemy's rear.

In the afternoon of the 25th, the enemy brought up more infantry from Ciudad Rodrigo, and in the course of that night and of the 26th they collected the whole of their army in front of the British positions; on which his Lordship, not deeming it expedient to stand their attack in that place, retired about three leagues, towards Alfayates, and Aldea de Ponte, the picquets of the cavalry being in front of the latter place.

It had been the enemy's intention to turn the left of the position of Guinaldo, by moving a column into the valley of the Upper Azava, and thence ascending the heights in the rear of the position by Castellegos; and from this column they detached a division of infantry, and fourteen squadrons of cavalry, to follow the British line of retreat by Albergaria, whilst another body of the same strength followed by Furealhos. The former attacked the picquets of the cavalry at Aldea de Ponte, and drove them in; and they pushed on nearly as far as Alfayates; but Lord Wellington immediately ordered General Pakenham to attack them with his brigade, supported by General Cole, and Sir Stapleton Cotton with the cavalry, when the assailants were driven back through Aldea de Ponte, upon

upon Albergaria, and the picquets of the British cavalry resumed their stations.

But the enemy having been now reinforced by the troops which marched upon Furcalhos, again advanced about sunset, and drove in the picquets of the cavalry from Aldea de Ponte, and took possession of that village.

Aldea now became the scene of contention; for General Cole immediately attacked with a part of General Pakenham's brigade, and drove them through the village; but night coming on, and General Pakenham being uncertain of what was passing on his flanks, or of the numbers of the enemy, and indeed knowing also that it was Lord Wellington's intention to fall back with the main body still further, he evacuated the village, which the enemy re-occupied during the night.

On the 28th Lord Wellington formed his army on the heights behind Soito, the right being extended to the Sierra das Mesas, whilst the left was at Renda on the Coa, about one league in the rear of the position which they had occupied on the preceding day. Beyond this, however, he had no further occasion to retire; for the enemy, instead of advancing, also began to retire, evacuating Aldea de Ponte on that day, and placing their advanced posts at Albergaria, on which his Lordship began to canton his troops in this position, in consequence of the expected bad weather at the equinox, and from understanding also that the enemy were actually about to retire.

Though the whole of these manœuvres were absolutely a retreat, yet it was a retreat highly honourable to the skill of the commander, and the gallantry of the troops; fully justifying what Lord Wellington called a memorable example of what the steadiness and discipline of the soldiers, and their confidence in their officers, can effect in the most difficult and trying situations. With respect to the 2d battalion of the 5th, and the 77th in particular, the steadiness was

Good conduct of the British troops.

peculiarly conspicuous, as Lord Wellington himself declared that he had never seen a more determined attack than that which was made by the whole of the enemy's cavalry, with every advantage of the assistance of a superior artillery, and which was repulsed so gallantly by these two weak battalions.

The Portuguese infantry too, though not actually charged, were repeatedly threatened; yet they shewed the utmost steadiness and discipline, both in the mode in which they prepared to receive the enemy, and in all the movements of a retreat over six miles of plain, in front of their superior cavalry and artillery. In fact the Portuguese artillery men attached to the two pieces of cannon, which for a few minutes fell into the enemy's hands, were actually cut down at their guns.

The conduct of the British and German cavalry was also highly meritorious, as though there were not more than three squadrons of the hussars and light dragoons in the field, yet they charged the enemy's cavalry repeatedly, notwithstanding the superiority of the latter.*

We have thus seen that Lord Wellington was forced to give up his blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo; indeed he owned himself that he could not pretend to maintain its blockade, nor make any efforts to prevent, or even materially to impede, the collection of supplies, or the march of the French convoy for the relief of that place.

This relief was indeed the great object of the enemy; and for that purpose they were obliged to collect and concentrate all their troops, thereby relieving all the Spanish corps who were hard pressed

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* Amidst the great mass of praise bestowed by his Lordship in his dispatches, he observed that his Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange, accompanied him during the various operations, and though it was the first time of his being in fire, yet he conducted himself with a degree of spirit and intelligence affording a hope that he will become an ornament to his profession.

in other quarters, and forming in the whole an army of sixty thousand men, of which six thousand were cavalry, with 125 pieces of artillery.

It has been said that his Lordship, if he meant not to make an effectual stand, might have retired without exposing his troops to slaughter; but this is a mode of reasoning only fit for the fireside—a well contested retreat will preserve the courage of an army, whilst to retire without seeing the face of the enemy will always dispirit it. Besides, as his Lordship said, “the reports were so various respecting the enemy’s strength, it was necessary that he should see their army,” as this would undoubtedly have an influence upon his ulterior operations.*

That the resistance offered by the British army was sufficient to check any plans which the enemy might have formed, beyond the mere relief of Ciudad Rodrigo, is evident from their having retired from that place on the 30th of September, the army of the north separating for Salamanca, and that of Portugal toward Banos and Placentia.

At this period, several distinguished foreign honors were bestowed on Lord Wellington, and on the 26th of October, a royal license was gazetted, permitting his Lordship, (who some time before had been constituted Marshal General of the Portuguese army) to accept the title of Condé de Vimiera, and also the Insignia of a *Knight Grand Cross* of the Royal Portuguese military Order of the *Tower and Sword*, conferred upon him by the Prince Regent of Portugal in testimony of the high estimation in which his Royal Highness holds his distinguished and glorious services on various important occasions.†

The

* The whole loss of the allied army during the three days’ contest was very trifling. The British had only forty killed, and about 170 wounded, whilst that of the Portuguese was even less.

† At the same time, Sir William Beresford (who had been elected a Knight of the Bath for his gallant services, and who is also Marshal and Commander-

The French armies in the month of October continued nearly in the same positions; but notwithstanding that the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo had been an object of such importance to them, it was still harassed, if not blockaded, by the allied army, and so alert were the advanced parties, that the gallant Spanish partizan, Don Julian Sanchez, actually on the 15th of October carried off a large proportion of the cattle grazing near that place, and even made prisoner the Governor, General Reynard, who had come out of the fort and across the Agueda, attended by some staff officers, and escorted by a party of about twenty cavalry; he was there surrounded by Don Julian's detachment as soon as he entered the hills, and was taken with two of his escort under the very guns of the place.

About this time, the Spanish Guerillas were increasing in numbers and boldness throughout the Peninsula, where the two well known partizans *Empecinado* and *Mina* were very successful against some of the enemy's posts and detachments, when their army was collected for the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo; but these occurrences would occupy too much ground from our main subject, to be entered on more fully.

Whilst the two main armies were thus laying watching each other's movements, the British and their allies were not inactive in other places; particularly Lieutenant-General Hill,† who had been ordered

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to

Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese forces) received permission to accept the dignity of *Condé de Trancoso*, and the insignia of the same order conferred on Lord Wellington.

Sir Robert Wilson and Colonel Trant were also both honoured with the rank of Knights Commanders of the same order.

* The family to which Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill belongs is a very ancient one of Shropshire, where his father embellished the elegant seat of Hawkestone, near Shrewsbury; but the family is perhaps better known by the indefatigable and venerable Rowland Hill, (also the reverend) whose exertions in the cause of religion at the Surrey

to march into Estremadura, with the troops under his command. He marched by Aldea del Cano to Alcuesca, in search of General Girard; and on the 27th of October, having information that the enemy were in motion, he proceeded through Aldea, being a shorter route than that taken by the French, and affording a hope of being able to intercept him, and bring him to action. On the march he learned that Girard had halted his main body at Arroyo de Molinos, leaving a rear-guard at Albala; which was to General Hill a satisfactory proof that he was ignorant of the movements of the allied detachment. General Hill, therefore, determined to surprise him, and accordingly made a forced march to Alcuesca that evening, where the troops were so placed as to be out of sight of the enemy, and no fires were allowed to be made. On the arrival at this place, which is not more than a league from Arroyo, General Hill was more fully convinced that Girard was

rey chapel have, we hope, been productive of much good, notwithstanding their eccentricity.

General Hill is the fourth son of the present baronet, and nephew and namesake of the pious pastor of Great Surrey Street; he was born in 1772, and entered into the army at an early period of life, passing through all the gradations of military rank with that credit and esteem which are the certain accompaniments of correct conduct, and gentlemanlike manners; and we are authorized in saying that "his piety assisted, rather than impeded, him in the performance of all the active duties of life; and by a peculiar sweetness of temper he shewed the practical fruit and effect which are appended to true religion as their natural stock; and also recommended his example to the imitation of others, by embellishing it with the ornamental graces of the manners of the officer and the gentleman."

In the expedition to Egypt General Hill accompanied the lamented Abercrombie, and afterwards at Talavera highly distinguished himself, having been severely wounded, yet still refused to quit the field, and succeeded in repelling the French in several successive attacks with all that firmness which constitutes the principal feature of his character.

Upon the whole, we may consider him as an ornament and an honour, not only to the service, but also to that honourable order of military chivalrous distinction to which he belongs. 8

Surprisal of Girard.

was ignorant of his movements, and also extremely off his guard; he determined, therefore, upon attempting to surprise him, or at least to bring him to action, before he should march in the morning; and the necessary dispositions were made for that purpose.

The ground over which the troops were to manoeuvre being a plain, thinly scattered with oak and cork trees, General Hill's object was to place a body of troops so as to cut off the retreat of the enemy, either to Truxillo or Merida: he, therefore, moved the army from their bivouack (or resting place without tents) near Alcuensa, about two in the morning of the 28th, in one column right in front, direct on Arroyo del Molino. On arriving within half a mile of the town, when under cover of a low ridge, the column closed and divided into three columns, the infantry being on the right and left, and the cavalry occupying the centre. As the day dawned, a violent storm of rain and thick mist came on, under cover of which the columns advanced according to the concerted plan; the left column proceeding for the town, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart; the 71st, and part of the 60th, and 92d, at a greater distance, and the 50th, in close column, somewhat in the rear, with the guns as a reserve. The right column, under Major-General Howard, having the 39th regiment as a reserve, broke off to the right, so as to turn the enemy's left; and having gained about the distance of a cannon shot to that flank, it marched in a circular direction upon the further point of the crescent formed by the troops, whilst the cavalry under Sir William Erskine, moved between the two columns of infantry, ready to act in front, or move round either of them, as occasion might require.

The advance of the British columns was unperceived by the enemy until they approached very near, at which moment they were filing out of the town

town upon the Merida road ; the rear of the column, some of the cavalry, and part of the baggage, being still within it, though one brigade of infantry had marched from Medellin, an hour before daylight.*

At

* A letter from an officer states ;—

“ We are just returned to our cantonments after a very tough job, the result of which, however, amply compensates us for the fatigues we underwent. After marching the whole day, on the 27th arrived at a village called Alcuesca, when we lay under a hill, without being allowed to light fires, in consequence of the vicinity of the enemy. This was trying work to our poor fellows—they had eaten nothing for two days, and after marching all day in the pouring rain were obliged to lie in a plowed field up to their knees in mud.

“ We marched about two o'clock, quite dark, and raining dreadfully, and by day break we had three brigades formed under a hill, within cannon shot of the place where Monsieur was still snoring, unconscious of his danger. One out-lying picquet of the enemy would have frustrated our plan ; they had one about a mile from the village, but most fortunately they had retired (in consequence of the troops having an order to march at six o'clock) just before the head of our column came to the spot. The various regiments forming these brigades brought their left shoulders forward, and marched, or rather ran, in the best possible order, to gain the Merida road before the enemy—which done they would have no alternative but to take to the mountains.

“ Two or three cannon shot from the village informed us that the bird had not flown—they were, however, formed outside of it, and ready march. General Girard laughed, and said that the English were too fond of comfort, to get out of their beds such mornings as these, (raining hard) he thought it was only an advanced party of the Spaniards, and was ordering his men out of the town in order (as he said) to drub them heartily. On turning round the first man he saw was one of the 92d ; then he rode off to set his troops in motion.

“ The French officers in the town behaved remarkably well—they singled out, and sword in hand attacked the British commanders. The Honourable Colonel Cadogan had the cap cut through on his head with a coup de sabre ; Colonel Stewart, of the 50th (who commanded the brigade) was knocked off his horse ; and Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, of the 92d, severely wounded. But the Frenchmen soon received the reward of their temerity, for the whole found in the village were either killed or made prisoners by the brave 92d, Gordon's Highlanders.

“ Girard, who was wounded twice, got off with three or four hundred men, and they say four eagles ; but they were invisible, the officers having pocketed them. When we saw there was no possibility of following them, we tried a *ruse de guerre* after their own fashion ;

but

Route of the enemy.

At this moment the 71st and 92d regiments charged into the town with cheers, and drove the enemy every where at the point of the bayonet, having only a few of their men cut down by the enemy's cavalry. The enemy's infantry which had got out of the town had, by the time these regiments arrived at the extremity of it, formed into two squares, with the cavalry on their left; the whole were posted between the Merida and Medellin roads, fronting Alencesca.

These squares were formed close to the town, but the garden walls were promptly lined by the 71st light infantry, whilst the 92d filed out and formed a line on the enemy's flank, the whole throwing in a hot and well directed fire. In the mean time one wing of the 50th regiment occupied the town, and secured the prisoners: and the other wing, along with the three six pounders, skirted the outside of it: the artillery, as soon as within range, firing with great effect upon the squares.

Whilst the enemy was thus occupied upon the right, General Howard's column continued moving upon their left, and the allied cavalry advancing, and crossing the head of the enemy's column, cut off the cavalry from the infantry, charging it repeatedly, and putting it to the route. The 13th light dragoons at the same time took possession of the enemy's artillery.

In this part of the business the Spanish cavalry, under the Count de Penne Villemur, behaved remarkably well; for the British cavalry having been somewhat delayed by the darkness of the night and the badness of the road, the Spaniards were the first to

but it did not do—a flag of truce were sent to tell them that they were surrounded, and to ask them to surrender.

“The men and officers seemed inclined to do so, and an officer and a few men actually came off; but Girard said he would never surrender with life, and if taken there was his resource, pointing to his pistols—he was in tears and much agitated.”

to form upon the plain, and gallantly engaged the enemy until the British came up.

The whole body of the French were now in full retreat; but General Howard's column having gained the point to which it was directed, and the left column coming fast upon them, they had no resource but to surrender, or to disperse and ascend the mountain, which forms one extremity of the Sierra of Montanches, and is almost inaccessible.

The latter attempt they preferred; and, scrambling up the eastern extremity, were followed closely by the 28th and 34th regiments, whilst the 39th and Colonel Ashworth's Portuguese infantry followed round the foot of the mountain to take them in flank.

As may be imagined, the enemy's troops were by this time in the utmost panic; the cavalry were flying in every direction, the infantry throwing away their arms, and the only effort of either was to escape. The troops under General Howard's command, as well as those he had sent round the point of the mountain, pursued them over the rocks, making prisoners at every step, until his own men became so exhausted, and few in number, that it was necessary for him to halt and secure the prisoners.

The force which Girard had with him at the commencement of the business, consisting of 2500 infantry and 600 cavalry, were now totally dispersed, or captured; amongst the latter of whom were General Brune, the Prince d' Aremberg, two Lieutenant-Colonels, an aid-du-camp, thirty captains and subalterns, and upwards of 1000 soldiers, with the whole of their baggage, artillery, commissariat, and even the contributions which they had recently levied. The enemy's loss in killed was also very severe, whilst, from the circumstances of the case, it was very trifling on the side of the British. Girard escaped himself with two or three hundred men, but without arms; and even these were much harassed in their retreat by the Spanish peasantry.

Doring

During this year the Guerilla system was carried to a much greater extent than had been supposed possible; and was, indeed, adopted in every part of Spain, and attended with considerable success. By this means the difficulties under which the French had laboured for want of provisions and stores were considerably increased, whilst on all hands the intrepidity and activity of the Spaniards themselves were much improved by this active mode of warfare, and stimulated by the prospect of gain. Yet after all it must be confessed, that although much has been done, still this desultory mode of warfare never would, in itself, have any important effect upon the question of Spanish liberation from the assaults and insults of a rapacious and vindictive enemy.

Towards the month of November the French arrangements in Spain seem of a very curious nature; for it appears that the country on both sides of the Tagus, as far up as Aranjuez, had been made over, by Buonaparte, to Marshal Marmont, for the support of the army in Portugal. This arrangement reduced Joseph to the greatest distress, as the produce of that country was all that he had to depend upon, being actually obliged to subsist upon the money produced by the retail sale of the grain forcibly levied from the people.

The grain which was thus levied and sold by Joseph's orders was again seized by orders from Marmont, and taken from the people who had purchased it at Joseph's retail shops; the only satisfaction they had being that of the very amusing information that Joseph had no right to sell it.

Opening of the present year.

SECTION IX.

Spanish affairs—Surrender of Blake—Repulse of Montbrun—Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo—Assault and surrender of that fortress—Fall and anecdotes of General Mackinnon—Death and anecdotes of General Craufurd—Lord Wellington created an Earl—Siege of Badajoz—Military details and interesting anecdotes—Assault of the citadel, and surrender of the place—Anecdotes—Gallant conduct of the British cavalry at Villa Garcia—Marshal Soult kept in check in Andalusia—Exemplary conduct of the Portuguese militia—Sir Rowland Hill's expedition to Almaraz—Gallant assault of that place, and its destruction—March to Salamanca—Retreat and manœuvres of the French army—Salamanca taken by the British—Siege and capture of the French fortified posts in that city—Movements of Marmont's army—Gallant affair of the British cavalry with the rear guard of the enemy—Movements before the battle of Salamanca—Incidents connected with that affair—BATTLE OF SALAMANCA—Anecdotes of the action—Anecdotes of Marmont—Defeat and pursuit of the French army—Fall and anecdotes of General Le Marchant—Anecdotes of Lord Wellington—Affecting anecdote of an English lady, &c. &c. &c.

THE year 1812 opened with a severe misfortune to the Spanish cause on the eastern coast, where Valencia not only capitulated, but Blake surrendered with his whole army, giving up immense magazines of all kinds of stores to the French.

These invaders were indeed less successful at Alicante, where Montbrun was repulsed early in January: it is, however, to the allied armies of Britain and Portugal, that Spain is principally, if not solely, indebted for her present prospect of deliverance from a ferocious enemy and an upstart prince.

On the 8th of January Lord Wellington commenced his investment of Ciudad Rodrigo, which had been lately considerably strengthened; for since the French had got possession of it they had constructed a palisadoed redoubt on the hill of St. Francisco, and fortified three convents in the suburb, the defences of which were connected with the new work

on the hill of St. Francisco, and with the whole line by which the suburb was surrounded. By these means they had increased the difficulty of approaching the place, and it was necessary to obtain possession of the work on the hill of St. Francisco before any progress could be made in the attack.

Accordingly Major-General Craufurd, who was in charge of the advanced operations, directed a detachment of the light division, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Colbourne of the 52d, to attack the work shortly after dark; which was executed in a very able style, the whole being carried by storm; two captains and forty-seven men taken prisoners, and the rest of the garrison put to the sword during the assault. The loss of the assailants was but trifling, and they took three pieces of cannon.*

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The

* The success of this necessary operation enabled the British army immediately to break ground within six hundred yards of the place, notwithstanding that the enemy still had the fortified convents; and the enemy's own work was thus turned into a part of the first parallel, and a good communication made with it.

Up to the 14th the operations of the siege were continued, and on that day the assailants opened a fire from twenty-two pieces of ordnance, in three batteries, on the first parallel. This commenced in the afternoon; and, in the course of the night they opened an approach to, and established themselves in, the second parallel, only one hundred and fifty yards from the place.

This arduous and impetuous movement had indeed been much facilitated by a judicious and brilliant little affair on the part of Lieutenant-General Graham, who, on the preceding night, had surprised the enemy's detachment in the convent of Santa Cruz, close to the body of the place; by which operation the right of the approached was protected and secured.

Whilst the establishment on the second parallel was taking place, another operation, absolutely necessary, was carried on upon the left, by Major-General the Honourable C. Colville, to whom the command of the 4th division of the army had recently been given. He proceeded to the attack of the other post in the convent of San Francisco; and having obtained possession of it, together with the other fortified posts in the suburb, the left wing of the besiegers immediately made lodgments there, by which the works on the left were completely secured from the fire of the enemy.

The main body of the French army did not receive intelligence of these operations unmoved ; and Lord Wellington received information of their preparing the assemblage of troops at Salamanca to a certain extent ; this, however, only hastened his operations, and made him persevere in the siege with redoubled vigour.*

The

* On the 15th, the besiegers began to complete their second parallel, and the communications with that work, and also to commence their approach by sap to the crest of the glacis : and on that night they advanced from the left of the first parallel down the slope of the hill towards the convent of San Francisco, to a situation from which the walls of the *fausse braye*, and of the town, were seen, on which a battery of seven guns was constructed, whose fire was commenced on the 18th.

In the mean time the batteries in the first parallel continued their fire ; and on the evening of the 19th, the cannonade had not only considerably injured the defences of the place, but had made breaches in the *fausse braye* wall, and in the body of the place, which were considered practicable ; whilst the battery on the slope of the hill, which had been opened on the preceding day, had been equally efficient still further to the left, and opposite to the suburb of San Francisco.

Under these circumstances, and in order to stop the unnecessary effusion of blood, by a prolongation of the siege, Lord Wellington immediately determined to storm the place, notwithstanding that the approaches had not been brought to the crest of the glacis, and even though the counterscarp of the ditch was still entire ; but these obstacles were but trifles in the way of British ardour and intrepidity.

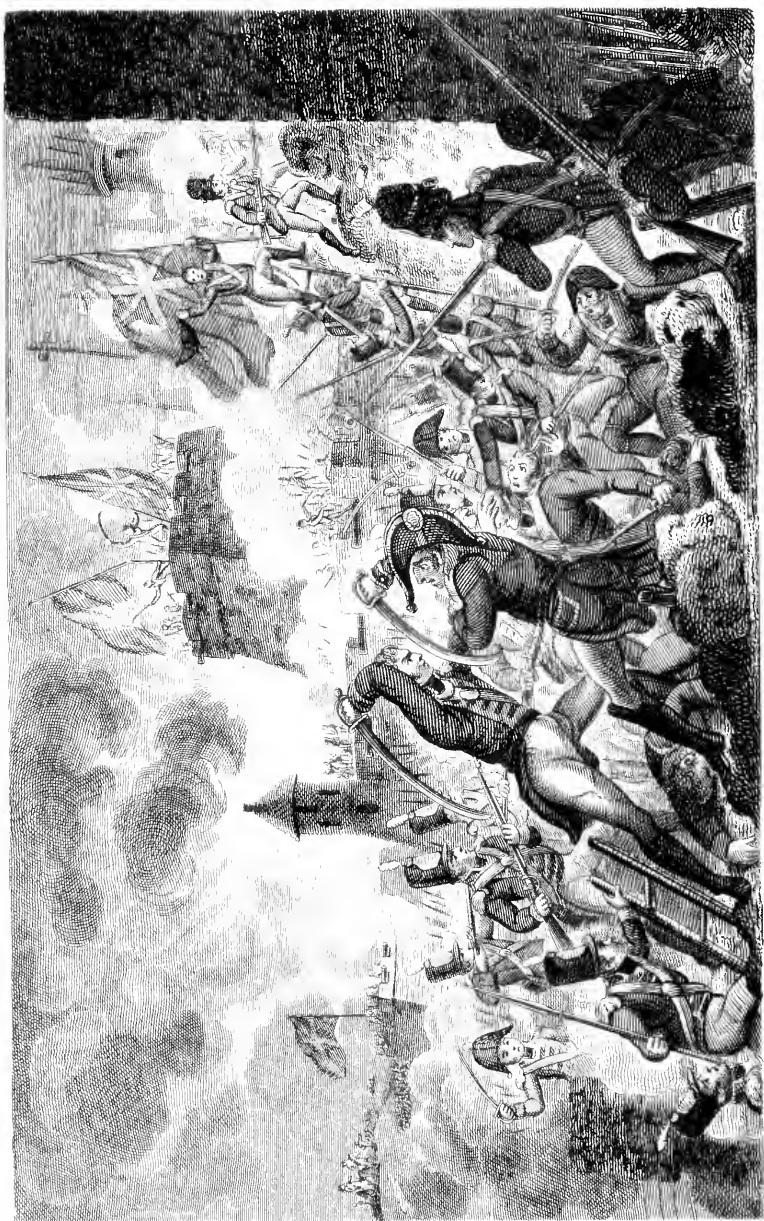
Agreeably to this determination, the grand assault was made on the evening of the 19th in five separate columns, consisting of the troops of the 3d and light divisions, and of Brigadier-General Pack's brigade. The two right columns, conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel O' Toole of the 2d Portuguese Caçadores, and Major Ridge of the 5th regiment, were destined to protect the advance of Major-General Mackinnon's brigade, forming the third, to the top of the breach in the *fausse braye* wall ; and all those, being composed of troops of the 3d division, were under the direction of Lieutenant-General Picton.

The fourth column, consisting of the 43d and 52d regiments, and part of the 95th regiment, being of the light division under the direction of Major-General Craufurd, attacked the breaches on the left, in front of the suburb of San Francisco, and covered the left of the attack of the principal breach by the troops of the 3d division ; and Brigadier-General Pack was destined with his brigade, forming the 5th column, to make a false attack upon the southern face of the fort.

Besides these five columns, the 95th regiment, belonging to the 3d division, descended into the ditch in two columns on the right of

Major





THE STORMING OF CIUDAD RODRIGO.

Preparations for the assault.

The capture of this place was of great importance to the cause of the allies; and it is a pleasure to observe, that the people of Castile contemplated the operations with great interest, and afforded much assistance upon all occasions. The military efforts of the Spaniards too were of some considerable utility; for the Marshal del Campo, Don Carlos d'Espagne, and Don Julian Sanchez, observed the enemy's move-

Major-General Mackinnon's brigade, with a view to protect the descent of that body into the ditch, and its attack of the breach in the *fausse braye*, against the obstacles which his Lordship supposed the enemy would perhaps construct to oppose the progress of the brigade in that particular quarter.

In every arrangement for this awful business, the comprehensive mind of the commander-in-chief most powerfully shews itself. Every thing was foreseen, every thing provided for; nothing was left for the officers and troops but to execute: yet to one division of them we must allow the credit of having done even more than their general required, or than even Wellington himself had calculated on. For his Lordship himself observed that all the attacks had succeeded, but that Brigadier-General Pack had even surpassed his expectations, having converted his false attack into a real one, his advanced guard under the gallant Major Lynch having followed the enemy's troops from the advanced works into the *fausse braye*, when they made prisoners of all who opposed them!

Every thing being prepared, and the awful moment of advance arrived, for such it is even to the bravest, the troops pushed on for the principal breach, when Major Ridge of the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment with his gallant party, escalated the *fausse braye* wall, and stormed rapidly through the breach into the body of the place. He was accompanied by the 94th regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, which had moved along the ditch at the same time, and had stormed the breach in the *fausse braye*, both in front of Major-General Mackinnon's brigade. By these rapid movements these two gallant regiments not only effectually covered the advance from the trenches of the brigade under the Major-General, but also preceded the brigade in its point of attack.

Major-General Craufurd and Major-General Vandeleur, and the troops of the light division on the left, were at this moment very forward on that side; and, in less than half an hour from the commencement of the assault, the troops were in possession of, and formed on, the ramparts of the place, each body contiguous to the other; when the enemy submitted, having sustained a very serious loss in the contest.

The British loss, as might naturally be expected, was also very severe,

movements beyond the Tormés during the siege, and shewed themselves worthy of the assistance afforded them by the gallant British army.

The events of the siege also put in possession of the British upwards of one hundred and fifty three pieces of ordnance, including the heavy train belonging

vere, particularly in officers of high rank and estimation amongst their fellow-soldiers ; for they had gallantly led in the very face of the fire.

The brave Major-General Mackinnon was unfortunately blown up by the accidental explosion of one of the enemy's expense magazines, close to the breach, after he had gallantly and successfully led the troops under his command to the assault.*

Major-

* Major-General Henry Mackinnon was another gallant son of Scotia, by descent, though actually born in Hampshire, in 1773.

He received an academical education at the military college of Tournay in France, going there at twelve years of age ; and it is a remarkable circumstance that, during his vacations, he had an opportunity of forming an early acquaintance with the present ruler of France, who was a frequent visitor at the house of his family, residing at that time in the adjoining province of Dauphiny.

After a progress in classical and military learning, the most flattering, he entered the army in the fifteenth year of his age, and served as a subaltern for three years in the 43d ; and after raising an independent company at the commencement of the late war, he exchanged from the line into the Coldstream guards. In Ireland he served as major of brigade to Sir George Nugent, and was very active in several actions with the rebels, particularly at Antrim and Ballinahinch, where he first had an opportunity of displaying that military spirit of gallantry which raised him so high in the estimation of the army.

To Holland he went with the Duke of York, and was present at all the actions which took place during that expedition, and in one instance in particular, on the retreat of the British army, had an opportunity of displaying some traits of courage and skilful conduct with a detachment of the Coldstream guards, in checking the advance of a much superior body of the enemy.

At the assault of Ciudad Rodrigo, his post was to storm the centre breach ; but the enemy having sprung a mine, just as he reached the top of the parapet, he was seen no more until the morning, when his body was found wounded, and scorched on the back of the head.

He married Miss Catharine Call, daughter of the late baronet of that name, and left her pregnant of her third child to lament the loss of an amiable and gallant husband !

ing to the French army, together with immense quantities of ammunition and stores: and there were surrendered with the governor General Barrier, about seventy eight officers, and seventeen hundred men, prisoners.

On the 24th of January the gallant General Craufurd* died of his wounds, lamented by the army, and regretted

Major-General Craufurd also received a severe wound whilst leading on the light division to the storm; and Major-General Vandeleur also was wounded, but not so severely; nor would he quit the field until the business was over.

To these we must add Lieutenant-Colonel Colbourne; as well as Major George Napier, who led the storming party of the light division, and was wounded on the top of the breach. To detail the various acts of gallantry, of perseverance, and of personal skill and activity displayed during this whole siege, and in the assault, would be not only to name every regiment present, but almost to enumerate every individual engaged. In this, as on all other occasions, where his services could be useful to his country, General Graham particularly distinguished himself, and to him the commander-in-chief acknowledged himself peculiarly indebted—but it is sufficient to say of the whole, in the words of the commander-in-chief, that nothing could exceed the gallantry with which the brave officers and men advanced and accomplished the difficult operations allotted to them, in the assault in particular, notwithstanding that all their leaders had fallen.

The British loss was five officers and 64 men killed; eleven officers and 139 men wounded.

The skill and conduct of the engineers and artillery was likewise conspicuous; and we may add, that whilst the remembrance of the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo lives in history, the wit of our inimitable dramatist Foote, in his *Mayor of Garrat*, will be no longer applicable to *Major Sturgeon*, as the *modern* gallant officer of that name, of the royal staff corps, by his skill and gallantry has completely neutralized it!

* Major-General Robert Craufurd entered the army before he was sixteen years old, as ensign in the 21st foot, then commanded by that excellent officer, Sir Charles Stewart, who soon discerned in him great talents, and uncommon energy of character, which, joined to an enthusiastic love of his profession, and close application to military studies, attracted Sir Charles's particular notice, and laid the foundation of that friendship which he ever afterwards bore him.

Having served four years in the 21st, he obtained the rank of captain in the 75th, and went to Germany to prosecute his military studies on a more extensive scale.

He was now appointed senior captain in the 75th regiment, and went with

regretted by his Commander-in-Chief: and on the 29th Lord Wellington received intelligence of Marshal Marmont having arrived at Salamanca seven days previous, where six divisions of the army of Portugal were collected on the two succeeding days.

As yet, the French did not venture to advance; but General Souham's division, with about six hundred cavalry and some artillery, were sent as far as Matilla, and patrolled in advance to San Munez and Tamames; but this movement was merely to ascertain the fact of the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, when they thought proper immediately to return to the Tormes. His Lordship, however, for the present, took no active notice of these demonstrations, but contented himself with repairing the damage which the British fire

with it to India, when the Colonel, Sir Robert Abercrombie, being Governor of Bombay, and the Major, the present Sir Samuel Auchmuty, being his military secretary, Captain Craufurd had the command of the regiment during the campaign of 1799-91, against Tippoo Saib, on the Malabar coast, where he gained credit for the order in which he had the corps, though by some censured for being too much of the martinet.

Most certainly nothing could be more distinct than the regulations of the 73d commanded by Colonel Balfour, and the 75th, when in garrison afterwards at Bombay, when the former regiment was exercised in the morning, but never permitted to remain on the parade after the sun became powerful; and their evening parade was always in cotton trowsers and jackets, the men being afterwards encouraged to amuse themselves by sports and manly exercises: whilst the latter regiment was always in full dress, and much more exposed to the sun; and it was said that the difference in their sick lists was very manifest.

Notwithstanding this, which may have arisen from error in judgment, it was impossible for any officer to be more attentive to the wants of his men, or more anxious to see justice done to them on all occasions; and though their time was perhaps more taken up in the minutiae of military cleanliness, yet this no doubt tended much to keep them out of the arrack houses. In Ireland, he served as Quarter Master General, in 1798; to the Austrian army he was sent on a military mission in 1799; and afterwards he was Quarter-Master General, with the Duke of York in Holland. At Buenos Ayres, he was obliged to surrender after a gallant defence of a convent; he has since been always on active service, commanding the light division in all the campaigns of the Peninsula.

fire had done to the works, and in a short time put the whole place into a good state of defence.

The impression made at home by this acquisition was very great, as it shewed that the conduct, the prudence, and the gallantry, of Lord Wellington, had so far operated in favour of the general cause as to keep the enemy in check even whilst he was besieging their most important depots, whilst the inactivity of the French and their inability to march to the defence of so important an object clearly shewed the manifest superiority of the allies, in consequence of the judicious measures of the noble Commander-in-Chief.

Nor was he permitted to go unrewarded, as His Royal Highness the Prince Regent immediately created him Earl of Wellington in addition to his other titles and honours. On this occasion too, with a just attention to military merit, his Royal Highness noticed his brave companions in arms, nominating Lieutenant-Generals Graham and Hill, as knights of the most honourable Order of the Bath.

Towards the middle of February some movements on the part of the French took place, two divisions of the army of Portugal together with General Montbrun's cavalry having advanced to the Tagus on the vicinity of Talavera and Toledo; but at the same time General Bonnet was obliged to evacuate the Asturias, suffering considerably in this operation, not only from the weather, but also from the attacks of a detachment of the army of Galicia and of General Porlier's corps.

The Guerilla parties also continued to increase, and their operations became every day of more importance; particularly that active partizan *Saomil*, who about this time was powerful enough to intercept the communications of the army of Portugal in Upper Castile, near Medina del Campo, where he took a considerable number of prisoners; whilst the party of Cuesta, another partizan, attacked

ed a large body of French infantry which had crossed the Tictar, and obliged them to retire with considerable loss.

A most important era in the Spanish cause was now advancing, by the siege and storming of Badajoz which commenced on the 16th of March, and was carried by escalade and assault on the 6th of April, displaying a degree of gallantry and perseverance, equal to any thing of ancient or modern times.*

It

* The operations of the siege continued from the 20th of March until the 5th, notwithstanding the badness of the weather. On that day, the assailants opened their fire from twenty-eight pieces of ordnance in six batteries, in the first parallel; two of which were intended to fire upon the outwork, called La Picurina, and the other four to enfilade or destroy the defences of the fort on the side attacked.

As the speedy surrender of the place was of importance to the ulterior destination of the army, Lord Wellington in the evening of the 25th directed Major-General Kempt, who commanded in the trenches on that afternoon, to attack La Picurina by storm, as soon as it was dark; and this service was performed in the most judicious and gallant manner.

The assault was made by five hundred men of the 3d division formed into three detachments; the right under the command of Major Shaw of the 74th; the centre under the Hon. Captain Powis of the 83d; and the left under Major Rudd of the 77th regiments. In this brilliant little affair, the communication between the outwork and the body of the place was entered on its right and left, by the right and left detachments, each consisting of two hundred men; half of each of which detachments protected the assault from sallies from the fort, whilst the others attacked the work itself in its gorge.

It was first entered, however, by the centre detachment of one hundred men, under the command of the Honourable Captain Powis, who escaladed the work at the salient angle, at a point at which the palisades had been injured by our fire; that gallant officer himself being the first to mount the parapet by the scaling ladders, in spite of a wound he there received.

It appeared, however, that the detachments, which attacked the work by the gorge, had the most serious difficulties to contend with, as it was closed by not less than three rows of strong palisades, defended by musquetry, and a place of arms for the garrison, musquet proof, and loopholed throughout. When the attack on the salient angle however succeeded, the whole got into the work.

The enemy's garrison in this outwork consisted of two hundred and fifty men, with seven pieces of artillery under Colonel Gaspard Thierry of

It must not be forgotten that during the whole of this arduous business, Lord Wellington had great
3 K 2 difficulties

of the Etat Major of the army of the south; but very few, if any, escaped. The Colonel himself, three other officers, and eighty-six men, were taken prisoners, and the remainder were either killed by the assailants, or drowned in the inundation of the river Rivellas.

During this business, the enemy made a sortie from the ravelin called San Roque, either with a view to recover La Picurina, or to protect the retreat of the garrison; but they were immediately driven in by the detachments stationed in the communication to protect the work.

On this occasion the cool and persevering gallantry of the troops employed was highly praiseworthy, but the strength of the work itself was the best proof of their merits: and it is a remarkable fact that the leader of each detachment was wounded, yet without, in the slightest degree, discomposing the men. The only officer killed was Brigadier-Major Wilde, who unfortunately fell, by a cannon-shot, after the work was carried.

The advanced parties of the assailants were now established in La Picurina; and, on the night of the 25th, the second parallel was opened within three hundred yards of the body of the place, in which two additional batteries were immediately commenced.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, the exertions of this gallant army were unremitting; and that too under many disadvantages, particularly from the overflowing of the river Guadiana on the 22d of the month, when, in spite of all precautions, the bridge of pontoons was carried away, and the flying bridges so much injured as almost to be rendered useless.

During all this time the French army were completely kept in check by the British detachments. General Drouet indeed had his troops on the line between Medellin on the Guadiana, and Zalamea de la Serina, and Llerena, apparently with the view of keeping open the communication between the army of the south and the divisions of the army of Portugal stationed on the Tagus; but Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham on the 25th made a movement towards Llerena, when the enemy's force, consisting of three battalions of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, having got intelligence of his march, thought proper to retire to the mountains during the night.

In order to keep them further in check, Sir Ro land Hill likewise sent a detachment to La Guarena, and marched himself upon Medellin in order to co-operate with Sir Thomas Graham.*

On

* About this period, at home, an act was passed for settling and securing a handsome annuity on Earl Wellington and the two next persons to whom the title of Earl of Wellington shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.

difficulties to contend with, in consequence of the total failure of the civil authorities of the province of Alentejo,

On the 30th of March the British fire was opened from twenty-six pieces of cannon in the second parallel, to breach the face of the bastion at the south-east angle of the fort called La Trinidad, and the flank of the bastion by which that fence was defended, called Santa Maria; and the fire from thence was continued for four days with great effect. Previous to this, on the night of the 29th, the garrison made a sortie upon the troops of General Hamilton's division, which invested the place on the right of the Guadiana; but they were immediately driven in with considerable loss. The operations too were considerably relieved by the enemy's army being kept in check by the detachments under Generals Graham and Hill, who, having united, obliged the French to retire by the different roads to Cordova, with the exception of a small body of infantry and cavalry, which remained at Zalamea de la Serina in front of Belalcázar.

During the fourth and fifth of April, the fire of the British batteries was continued against the face of the bastion of La Trinidad, and the flank of the bastion of Santa Maria; and on the fourth another battery of six guns had been opened in the morning, in the second parallel, against the shoulder of the ravelin St. Roque, and the wall in its gorge: By this constant, heavy, and well directed cannonade, practicable breaches were effected in the bastions of Trinidad and Santa Maria, as early as the evening of the fifth; but his Lordship, on reconnoitring, observed that the enemy had entrenched the bastion of La Trinidad, and also that the most formidable preparations were making for the defence of the breach in that bastion, as well as of that in the bastion of Santa Maria; he therefore determined, in order to spare the lives of his people, to delay the assault for a day longer, and to turn all the guns in the batteries in the second parallel on the curtain of La Trinidad, in hopes that by effecting a third breach, the troops would be enabled to turn the enemy's works for the defence of the other two, the attack of which would besides be connected by the troops destined to assault the breach in the curtain.

A heavy fire now took this new direction, and on the evening of the sixth this third breach was effected; and the fire of the face of the bastion of Santa Maria, and of the flank of the bastion of La Trinidad being overcome, Lord Wellington determined to attack the place that night.

During this period, the 5th division, under Lieutenant-General Leith, which had left Castile only in the middle of March, and but lately arrived in the vicinity of Badajoz, had hitherto been kept in reserve; but on this evening they were brought up to service.

Weighing every circumstance with due precision, and observing every thing with a soldier's eye, and at the same time securing the
general

Alentejo, to perform their duty, and to supply the army with means of transport; these difficulties continued

general safety of his troops, by attacking with a preponderating force, his Lordship now laid down a most admirable plan, which was that Lieutenant General Picton should attack the castle of Badajoz, by escalade, with the third division; and a detachment from the guard in the trenches, furnished that evening by the 4th division, under Major Wilson of the 48th regiment, should attack the ravelin of San Roque upon his left: while the 4th division, under the Honourable Major General Colville, and the light division under Lieutenant Colonel Barnard, should attack the breaches in the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Maria, and in the curtain by which they are connected.

In furtherance of this design, the 5th division were to occupy the ground which the 4th and light divisions had occupied during the siege, and Lieutenant-General Leith was to make a false attack upon the outwork called Pardelleras, and another on the works of the fort towards the Guadiana, with the left brigade of the division, under Major-General Walker, which he was to turn into a real attack, if circumstances should prove favourable; * and Brigadier-General Power, who invested the place with his Portuguese brigade in the right of the Guadiana, was directed to make false attacks on the *tête du pont*, the fort of San Christoval, and the new redoubt called *Mencœur*.

Every thing being arranged for this awful and important event, the assault commenced at ten at night, Lieutenant-General Picton preceding, by a few minutes, the attack by the remainder of the troops. This attack was led by Major-General Kempt, from the right of the first parallel; he was unfortunately wounded in crossing the Rivellas below the inundation; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and the obstinate resistance of the enemy, the castle was carried by escalade, and the 3d division established in it about half past eleven.

Whilst this attack was going on, Major Wilson of the 48th regiment carried the ravelin of San Roque by the gorge, with a detachment of two hundred men of the guard in the trenches; and, with the assistance of Major Squire of the Engineers, established himself in that work.

The 4th and light divisions moved to the attack from the camp, along the left of the river Rivellas and of the inundation. They were not perceived by the enemy until they reached the covered way, and the advanced-guards of the two divisions descended without difficulty into

* It is an old observation in the service that every day a soldier or sailor has something to learn. This is particularly noticeable on the present occasion, where we see the gallant and judicious Wellington availing himself of past experience during the attack on Ciudad Rodrigo, when General Pack's brigade so spiritedly turned a feint into a real attack, and thereby facilitated the reduction of the place, and tended to save the further effusion of blood.

tinued also to exist even afterwards, with the exception of General Victorea, the Governor of Elvas, who, together

into the ditch, protected by the fire of the parties stationed on the glacis for that purpose; and they advanced to the assault of the breaches, led by their gallant officers, with the utmost intrepidity; but such was the nature of the obstacles prepared by the enemy at the top and behind the breaches, and so determined their resistance, that the British troops on this particular service were unable to establish themselves within the place. Many brave officers and soldiers were killed and wounded by explosions at the top of the breaches; others who succeeded to them were obliged to give way, having found it impossible to penetrate the obstacles which the enemy had prepared to impede their progress.

These gallant but ineffectual attempts were, however, obstinately and resolutely persevered in until after midnight, when Lord Wellington, who was on the spot, finding that success in this quarter was not to be attained, and that General Picton was established in the castle, immediately ordered these, the 4th and light divisions, to retire to the ground on which they had assembled for the attack.

In the mean time Major-General Leith had pushed forward Major-General Walker's brigade on the left, supported by the 38th regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent, and the 15th Portuguese regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel De Regoa; and he had made a false attack upon the Pardeleras with the 8th Cagadores under Major Hill. Major-General Walker forced the barrier on the road to Olivenza, and entered the covered way on the left of the bastion of St. Vicente, close to the Guadiana. He there descended into the ditch, and escalated the face of that bastion.

Lieutenant General Leith supported this attack by the 38th regiment and the 15th Portuguese regiment; and the troops being thus established in the castle, which commands all the works of the town, and in the town, and the 4th and light divisions being formed again for the attack of the breaches, all resistance ceased; and at daylight the governor, General Philippon, who had retired to San Christoval, surrendered, together with General Verlande, and all the staff and garrison.

Though Lord Wellington had found it impossible to get correct accounts of the strength of the garrison, yet he was informed by General Philippon, that it consisted of five thousand men at the commencement of the siege, of whom twelve hundred were killed or wounded during the operations, independent of those who fell in the assault of the place. It is evident, however, that the number must have been greater, for there were upwards of four thousand prisoners taken; and the garrison at first had consisted of five French battalions, besides two of the regiment of Hesse d'Armstadt, as well as the artillery, engineers, &c. &c.

The conduct of the British troops during this hazardous service was above all praise; indeed Lord Wellington himself observed that he

Capture of Badajoz.

together with the troops under his command, made every exertion, and did all in their power, to contribute to the general success.

These

was unable to express the sense which he entertained of the gallantry of both officers and men; adding, however, that the list of killed and wounded would shew that the general officers, the staff attached to them, the commanding, and other officers of regiments, had put themselves at the head of the attacks which they severally directed, and set the example of gallantry which was so well followed by their men. To name all who fell, or who distinguished themselves on this gallant occasion, would far exceed our limits; yet a tribute of praise is due to a few of the leading officers for their bravery and skill.

Sir William Beresford was particularly active in conducting the details of the siege, throughout the whole of the arduous business. In the trenches, the duties were successively conducted by the Honourable Major-General Colville, Major-General Bowes, and Major-General Kempt, under the superintendence of Lieutenant-General Picton: and it is worthy of notice, that all of these officers were wounded in the assault. To Lieutenant-General Picton, in particular, the Commander-in-Chief gave great praise, not only for the manner in which he arranged the attack of the castle, but also for that in which he supported that attack, and established his troops in that important post.

Lieutenant-General Leith's arrangements for the false attack upon the Pardeleras, and that under Major-General Walker, were likewise most judicious; and he availed himself with great precision of the circumstances of the moment, to push forward and support the attack under Major-General Walker, in a manner highly creditable to him. The gallantry and conduct of Major-General Walker, who was also wounded, and that of the officers and troops under his command, were highly conspicuous. The arrangements made by Major-General Colville drew forth great praise from the Commander-in-Chief, as well as his gallant mode of leading on the 4th division to the attack. The light division, during the assault, was conducted by Lieutenant Colonel Barnard, who distinguished himself, not less by the manner in which he made the arrangements for that operation, than by his personal gallantry in its execution. Almost every commanding officer of regiments was wounded, to which we must add Major-General Hervey of the Portuguese service commanding a brigade in the 4th division, along with whom was Brigadier-General Champlémond who commanded the Portuguese brigade in the 3d division.

Among the commanding officers of regiments who fell, was Lieutenant Colonel M'Leod of the 42d, who was killed in the breach; in his fall, as Lord Wellington observed, his Majesty sustained the loss
of

Private anecdotes of the storm.

These operations were viewed by the French, with great uneasiness, but without any active attempt on their

of an officer who was an ornament to his profession, and was capable of rendering the most important services to his country.

Lieutenant Colonel Ridge also, of the 5th, whose name has several times been mentioned in the course of this work, fell in the assault of the castle; along with him was the gallant and youthful Major Singer of the 7th, with many others.

During the whole of the siege, the services of the engineering and artillery departments were highly praiseworthy, fully equal to the so much boasted exertions of those branches in the French service, if not superior; and indeed we may say that the only object of all was to excel.

The total British loss, during the siege, amounted to 60 officers, 45 serjeants, 715 rank and file killed: 251 officers, 178 serjeants, 14 drummers, 256 rank and file wounded; 1 serjeant, 32 rank and file missing. On the side of the Portuguese, there were 12 officers, 6 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 195 rank and file killed, with 55 officers, 38 serjeants, 3 drummers, 684 rank and file wounded; 30 rank and file missing. Making in the whole 1035 killed, and 3787 wounded; between the 18th of March and the 7th of April.*

* The particulars of this gallant affair have been well described by an officer on the spot:—

“At eight o’clock at night, on Monday the 5th of April, we were formed without knapsacks, and in half an hour marched in an indirect line towards the town under strict orders “*that not a whisper should be heard.*” Part of the 5th division were to attack the town on the south side, while the third division, to which I was attached, with their ladders were to scale the citadel, and the rest were to assault the grand breach.

“I procured a soldier’s jacket, a firelock, sixty round of ball cartridges, and was on the right of my company.

“But before I proceed, I will give you some information which I have since obtained, to shew you where, and to what we were going! The governor is allowed to be one of the best engineers in the French service, and he has so proved himself; though our fire was continued at the breach, he had pieces of wood fastened into the ground, with sword blades and bayonets fixed in them standing outwards; behind this a *chevaux de frise* was chained at both ends across the breach; the beam of it about a foot square, with points on all sides projecting about a yard from the centre, and behind that was a trench four feet wide and four deep. Covering all these, soldiers were planted eight deep, the two first ranks to fire as fast as they could, and those behind

to

their part to frustrate them. Marshal Soult, indeed, left Seville on the 1st of April, with all the troops
 19. 3 L which

to load for them. Thus prepared, he told the men, 'if they stuck to their posts, all the troops in the world could not enter.'

"Trenches were also dug about fifty yards round the breach in case we did get in! In short, the oldest officers say that no place has been defended with so much science and resolution in our times.

"On the march all was silent, except that our cannon kept up the fire at the breaches, till we got within a quarter of a mile of the town, when there were two or three fire balls thrown from it in different directions, one of which falling close to us, we silently whispered to each other, 'now it will begin.'

"As the first division of our troops approached the place, the whole town appeared as if it were one mine, every yard throwing out bullets, cannon balls, &c. grape-shot flying in every direction. On the fire balls striking near us, we moved out of the road to the green sward, but the cannon balls hissed by us along the grass, and the musquet balls flew like hail about our heads; we immediately began, therefore, to run forward, till we were within about a hundred yards of the bridge across the first ditch, and then the balls came on so thick that, as near as I can judge, twenty must have passed in the space of a minute, within a yard of my head.

"While we were running on the grass, one or two men dropped every minute and were left behind; but now they fell faster: when we came to the bridge, which was about two yards wide, and twelve yards long, the balls came so thick that I had no expectation of getting across alive. We then began to ascend the hill, and were as crowded as people in a fair. We had to creep upon our hands and knees, the ascent being so steep and rocky; and while creeping, my brother officer received a ball in the brain, and fell dead.

"Having got up this rock, we came to some palisadoes, within about twenty yards of the wall; those we broke down, but behind them was a ditch three feet deep, and just behind that a flat space about six yards broad, and then a hill thrown up, eight feet high. These passed, we approached a second ditch, and then the wall which was twenty-six feet high, against which we planted six or seven ladders.

"The hill is much like that at Greenwich, about as steep and as high. Just as I passed the palisaded ditch, there came a discharge of grape-shot from a twenty-four pounder, directly into that flat space, and about twelve fine fellows sunk upon the ground, uttering a groan that shook the oldest soldier to the soul. Ten of them never rose again, and the nearest of them was within a foot of me, and the farthest not four yards distant. It swept away all within its range. The next three or four steps I took was upon this heap of dead! You read of the horrors of war, yet little understand what they mean!

"When

which he could collect in Andalusia; and he was in communication with the troops which had retired from

“When I got over this hill (or escarpment) into the ditch, under the wall, the dead and wounded lay so thick, that I was continually treading upon them. A momentary pause took place about the time we reached the ladders, occasioned I apprehend by the grapeshot, and by the numbers killed from off the ladders;—but all were soon up, and formed again in the road, just over the wall. We now cheered four or five times! When we had entered the citadel, which was directly after we had scaled the wall, no shot came among us; the batteries there had been silenced before we were over, and we formed opposite the two gateways, with orders to ‘*let no force break through us.*’ I was in the front rank!

“As soon as Philippon heard that we were in the citadel, he ordered two thousand men *to retake it at all events*; but when he was told that the whole of the third division had got in, ‘then,’ said he, ‘give up the town.’

“One battery fired about two hours after we were in, but those near the breach were quiet in half an hour, part of the fifth division, which got in on the south, having silenced them. The attack upon the breach failed; it was renewed a second time; and again a third time, with equally bad fortune, which made Lord Wellington say, ‘the third division has saved my honour and gained the town.’

“We continued under arms all night. About fifty prisoners were made in the citadel. Philippon withdrew into Fort St. Christoval, and most of the cavalry escaped by the sally port. By the laws of war we were allowed to kill all we found, and our soldiers declared they would do so; but an Englishman cannot kill in cold blood! Our regiment did not fire a gun the whole time. I saw one instance of bravery on the part of the French, just before the grape-shot came; eight or ten Frenchmen were standing on the battery, No. 32; one of our regiments fired and killed one or two of them, but the rest stood like statues; they kept on firing till there were but two left, when, one of them being shot, the other jumped down.

“The town is about the size of Northampton; all the houses near the breach were completely battered down, and most of the others damaged.

“In the morning, I returned to the camp, and by day light retraced my steps of the night before. In every place I passed a great many wounded; I saw eight or ten shot through the face, and their heads a mass of clotted blood, many with limbs shattered, many shot through the body, and groaning most piteously! I found the body of my brother officer on the hill, his pantaloons, sword, epaulet, and hat, taken away; the dead lay stretched out in every form; some had been dashed to pieces by bombs, many had been stripped naked, and others

from Estremadura, under General Drouet, two days afterwards, and on the 4th of April advanced as far as Llerena.

In proportion then as he should advance, Lord Wellington, with great prudence, determined to concentrate his own troops; and he, therefore, gave directions to Lieutenant-Generals Hill and Graham, who were in advance towards Llerena, to retire slowly from that vicinity and the upper parts of the Guadiana.

But up to the 7th, even before he could have heard of the fall of Badajoz, Marshal Soult seems to have acted very circumspectly, and without making any decided movement, although he had patrolled forward with small detachments of cavalry, and had even pushed the advanced guard of his infantry as far as Usagre.

There seems, however, to have been a want of unity of design, amongst the French commanders at this moment. None of the army of Portugal had attempted

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tempted

had been rolled in the dust, with blood and dirt sticking all over them.

“When I came to the spot where the grape-shot first struck us, the bodies lay very thick! but even there they bore no comparison to the heaps in the breach, where they lay one upon another, two or three deep; and many in the ditch were half out and half in the water! I shall give you my feelings through the whole affair, and I have no doubt when you read this, you will feel similarly. I marched towards the town in good spirits; and when the balls began to come thick about me, I expected every one would strike me: as they increased I regarded them less; at the bottom of the hill, I was quite inured to danger, and could have marched to the cannon’s mouth. When the grape-shot came, I suffered more for those who fell than for myself; and when I first trod upon the dead heaps, it was horrible. In the next twenty or thirty steps I trod upon many more dead, but each impression became less terrible—You see then that I have literally been within a few inches of death—upon the very verge of eternity! With you, when two or three of your acquaintance die, you say, ‘These are awful times, death has been very busy.’ Here he was busy indeed! Of three officers with whom I dined that day, one was killed, and another severely wounded, yet not a hair of my head has been hurt!”

&c. &c.

tempted any movement towards the south, in order to form a communication with Soult; and Marmont himself, who was then on the frontiers of Castile, contented himself with establishing a body of troops between the Coa and Agueda, and with reconnoitring Almeida early in April.

In these movements too, he was closely watched, for Brigadier-General Trant's division of militia was placed on the Coa; and Brigadier-General Wilson's other division of the Portuguese militia followed him, together with the cavalry; whilst Lieutenant-General the Condé D'Amarante marched with a part of the troops under his command towards the Douro.

On the 8th of April Marshal Soult had collected the whole of his army at Villa Franca, in Estremadura; and, having there heard of the fall of Badajoz, thought proper to retire before day-light the next morning towards the frontiers of Andalusia.

As soon as he commenced his retreat, Sir Thomas Graham proceeded to harass him by detachments; and accordingly Sir Stapleton Cotton with the cavalry attacked and defeated his rear-guard at Villa Garcia in a very handsome style; and that with such success that the enemy retired that very day from Llerena, and immediately afterwards entirely evacuated the whole province of Estremadura.*

About

* This brilliant affair of Sir Stapleton Cotton with the cavalry deserves further notice.

The gallant baronet having received information on the night of the 10th that the cavalry of General Drouet's corps, amounting to 2500, were encamped between Usagre and Villa Garcia, he ordered Major-General Anson's (commanded by the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Ponsonby) and Major-General Le Marchant's brigades to move in the course of the night from Villa Franca and Los Santos, so as to arrive before day break, the former at Usagre, the latter at Bienvenida, determining himself to attack the enemy with General Anson's brigade in front, whilst Major-General Le Marchant's, by a flank movement from Bienvenida, should cut off his retreat upon Llerena. The advanced guard of Major-General Anson's brigade drove in the enemy's picquets from near Usagre, two hours sooner than Sir Stapleton had intended,

Action at Usagre.

About this period those corps of the Spanish army, in communication with the allies, seem to have been pretty active; particularly the Condé de Penne Villemur, who with a detachment of the 5th army which had been sent from Estremadura, into the Condado de Niebla, had approached that town by the right of the Guadalquivir, and had some affairs with the enemy's garrison of Seville, and of the fortified convent on that side of the river, obliging them to retire within their works.

This took place on the 5th of April; but on the 10th

tended, by which the enemy unfortunately were alarmed, and fell back immediately a sufficient distance to effect their retreat upon Llerena, before General Le Marchant's brigade had time to get into their rear.

After driving in the picquets, Lieutenant-Colonel Ponsonby followed the enemy soon after day break through Villa Garcia, and was skirmishing with him, when General Le Marchant's brigade arrived on the other side of the heights between the Llerena road and Bienvenida.

On this Sir Stapleton gave directions to the Lieutenant Colonel, only to shew three squadrons, and to endeavour to amuse the enemy in front, until Major General Le Marchant's brigade (to conduct which, under cover of the heights, Colonel Elley had been sent) was ready to attack the enemy in flank.

This *ruse de guerre* succeeded admirably; and the enemy being vigorously attacked at the same moment in front and flank, retired in the greatest confusion and disorder.

Sir Stapleton immediately pursued him with Anson's brigade, and the 5th dragoon guards, supported by the 3d and 4th dragoons, near to Llerena, a distance of four miles, during which the French loss in killed was very considerable; and about one hundred and fifty prisoners, including a Lieutenant-Colonel, two Captains, and one Lieutenant, with about one hundred and thirty horses, were brought off the field.

The body of the enemy's cavalry now formed on the right and in rear of seven guns, and between eight and ten thousand infantry, which had taken up a position on the left of, and close to the town. The whole soon afterwards retired upon Berlenga and Asuaga, and were followed to the former place by the British patrols.

In this brilliant affair, the British had only two officers wounded, with 12 rank and file killed, and 26 wounded. There were also 15 horses killed, and 1 wounded, besides 12 missing; and it is a curious fact, that of the latter several strayed into the country, and others followed the defeated enemy, when their riders fell from them, killed or severely wounded.

10th the Condé retreated, according to a suggestion from Lord Wellington himself, in consequence of the fall of Badajoz, and the certainty which he felt that Marshal Soult would return into Andalusia without risking an action.

This retreat Soult was, indeed, permitted to make, almost unmolested, with the exception of Sir Stapleton Cotton's attack on his rearguard, as it was not at that moment, for many reasons, possible for Lord Wellington to bring him to action. In the north, Marmont was making some show of offensive operations, keeping Ciudad Rodrigo blockaded; but he had not ventured to make any attack upon it, nor had even repeated his visit to Almeida, having suffered some loss in his former reconnoissance of that place.

On the 7th, the very day on which Badajoz fell, the greatest number of the troops of the army of Portugal in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo, and engaged in its blockade, broke up and marched towards Sabugal, where Marmont also went himself.

This movement obliged some of the detachments of the allied army, advanced in that quarter, to fall back; for Major General Victor Alten who had been kept in front of Ciudad Rodrigo, with the 1st Hussars until the end of March, was followed (although at a distance) through Lower Beira, by Marshal Marmont's advanced guard; and having quitted Castello Branco on the 8th of April, they moved on; when the French advanced guard, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, of which were six squadrons of cavalry, entered Castello Branco on the evening of the 12th, obliging Brigadier-General Le Cor, with his brigade of militia, to retire upon Sarnedos, when he saw the enemy advance.

About this period Lord Wellington, having heard that General Alten had retired across the Tagus, sent directions for him to cross that river again; but he had no sooner done so, than the French advanced guard retired from Castello Branco, which place was immediately

Retreat of the enemy.

immediately taken possession of a second time by the united corps of Generals Alten and Le Cor.*

As soon as Lord Wellington was apprised of Soult's retreat from Villa Franca, he immediately put the army in motion towards Castile; and on the 16th of April the British advanced guard was at Castello Branco.

As the British army continued its march towards Alfayates, the enemy kept retiring before them: the last of them crossed the Agueda on the 23d of April, and on the following day they were in full retreat towards the Tormes.

The heavy rains which had fallen before the 13th and 19th had produced such torrents in the rivers, as to carry away the bridge which they had constructed on the Agueda, immediately above Ciudad Rodrigo; but they were enabled to repair it before the pursuing British came up, and the leading divisions of their army crossed by the Puente d' el Villar, and the fords of the Upper Agueda; the rear only taking advantage of the bridge near Ciudad Rodrigo.†

Up

* In this expedition the enemy, as usual, robbed and murdered the inhabitants of the country; all the injury they did, however, was confined to these acts of atrocity, as all the stores of the army at Castello Branco, as well as the hospital there, had previously been moved to the other side of the Tagus.

The firmness and good conduct of Brigadier-General Le Cor were particularly noticed upon this occasion, by the Commander-in-Chief, for his remaining in Castello Branco until he saw a superior enemy advancing upon him, and then retiring in good order no further than was necessary.

† When Marshal Marmont had marched his troops upon Sabugal, General Bacellar ordered the Portuguese militia, under Brigadier-Generals Trant and Wilson, to concentrate upon Guarda.

Marmont immediately moved upon this militia with a considerable force of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, on the 14th of April, and Brigadier-General Trant, who commanded, conceiving the enemy to be too strong for him, determined to retire across the Mondego.

The militia had made great progress in their retreat; but a battalion, which was covering the rear, having been ordered to fire upon the enemy's cavalry, and the rain having prevented their pieces from going off,

French manoeuvres baffled.

Up to the latter end of April, the enemy continued their retreat; and, as soon as Lord Wellington was certain of their having retired beyond the frontier, he directed Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill to carry into execution a plan of operations against their posts and establishments at the passage of the Tagus at Almaraz.

Though Lord Wellington did not personally superintend this measure, yet as forming a most conspicuous

off, they broke and threw part of the retreating troops into disorder, by which means the enemy were enabled to take about one hundred and fifty prisoners.

The troops were formed again, however, on the left of the Mondego, and retired upon Celorico; General Bacellar keeping the advanced posts under Brigadier-General Wilson at Lagiosa, to which place on the following morning (the 15th) the enemy advanced in considerable force, and drove in all the outposts.

Here, however, they did not venture long to remain; but retired from Lagiosa the same evening, and from Guarda the following day, which town was occupied the day after by General Wilson. So anxious was Lord Wellington for the character of his own troops and of those of the allies, that even this little affair was particularly noticed by him, but much to the credit of all the parties concerned; indeed, he declared in his dispatches that the officers of the militia had behaved remarkably well; and that it appeared to him that Brigadier-Generals Trant and Wilson had done every thing they ought to have done. Praise such as this was *almost* equal to victory!

Thus ended the mighty exploits of Marshal Marmont's advance; and, as Lord Wellington most happily expressed it, the partial success over the Portuguese militia on their retreat from Guarda, and the murder and plunder of the inhabitants of a few villages in Lower Beira, already suffering from the enemy's former depredations, were the only fruits of this grand expedition within the Portuguese frontier, which was *intended* to divert the attention of the British army from the siege of Badajoz.

This *diversion* of Marshal Marmont's, however, actually formed a diversion for the patriots in the north of Spain; for whilst the army of Portugal was collected for the service, General Abadia ordered the Spanish troops in the Asturias to march into Leon; where Brigadier Moreno had some partial success against a French detachment at Otero de las Duenas.

Don Julian Sanchez likewise, who had continued with his cavalry in Castile, was very successful in cutting off the enemy's communications, and against their convoys.

ous part of his plan of operations, it deserves particular notice here.*

Owing to the necessary preparations for this expedition, Sir Rowland could not begin his march before the 12th of May, which he did with the 2d division of infantry, and attained his objects by taking by storm Forts Napoleon and Ragusa, and the *tete du pont* and other works, by which the enemy's bridge was guarded; by destroying those forts and works, as well as the bridge and establishments; and by the capture of

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* The strength of this position was such as apparently to bid defiance to any coup de main, for the bridge was protected by strong works thrown up by the French on both sides of the river, and further covered on the southern side by the castle and redoubts of Mirabete about a league off, commanding the pass of that name, through which runs the road to Madrid, being the only one passable for carriages of any description by which the bridge can be approached.

The works on the left bank of the river consisted of a *tete du pont*, strongly built of masonry, and well entrenched; and on the high ground above it, there was a large and well constructed fort, called Napoleon, with an interior entrenchment, and a loop-holed tower in the centre. This fort contained nine pieces of cannon, with a garrison of four and five hundred men: and there was also on the opposite side of the river, on a height immediately above the bridge, a very complete fort recently constructed, which flanked and added much to its defence.

On the morning of the 16th of May, Sir Rowland Hill reached Jaracejo, and the same evening the troops marched in three columns; the left column commanded by Lieutenant-General Chowne (28th and 34th regiments under Colonel Wilson, and the 6th Portuguese Cacadores,) towards the castle of Mirabete; the right column under Major-General Howard, (50th, 71st, and 92d regiments,) and accompanied by Sir Rowland Hill himself, to a pass in the mountains, through which a most difficult and circuitous foot-path leads by the village of Romangordo to the bridge; the centre column under Major-General Long, (6th and 18th Portuguese infantry under Colonel Ashworth, and 13th light dragoons, with the artillery,) advanced upon the high road to the pass of Mirabete.

The two flank columns were provided with ladders, and it was intended that either of them should proceed to escalate the forts against which they were directed, had circumstances proved favourable; the difficulties, however, which each had to encounter on its march were such, that it was impossible for them to reach their respective points before day break. Sir Rowland, therefore, judged it best, as there

Assault of Fort Napoleon.

their magazines, with two hundred and fifty prisoners, and eighteen pieces of cannon.

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was no longer a possibility of surprise, to defer the attack, until he should be better acquainted with the nature and position of the works, and accordingly gave orders for the troops to *bivouack* * on the Leina.

On a full consideration of circumstances, Sir Rowland determined to penetrate to the bridge, by the mountain path leading through the village of Romangordo, even although by that means he should be deprived of the use of artillery; a decision fully justified by subsequent events.

Accordingly on the evening of the 18th he moved with Major-General Howard's brigade, and the 6th Portuguese regiment, for this operation, provided with scaling ladders, &c. Although the distance to be marched did not exceed five or six miles, yet the difficulties of the road were such, that, with the united exertions of officers and men, the column could not be formed for the attack before day light. Confiding, however, and justly, in the gallantry of his troops, Sir Rowland ordered the immediate assault of Fort Napoleon.

The 1st battalion of the 50th, and one wing of the 71st regiment, regardless of the enemy's artillery and musquetry, immediately escalated the work in three places; nearly at the same time. The enemy seemed at first determined, and his fire was destructive, but the ardour of the assailants was irresistible, and the garrison was driven at the point of the bayonet through the several entrenchments of the fort and *tete du pont* across the bridge, which having been cut by those on the opposite side of the river, many leaped into the river, and thus perished.

In fact, the impression made upon the enemy's troops was such, that the panic soon communicated itself to those on the opposite side, and Fort Ragusa was abandoned instantly, the garrison flying in the utmost confusion towards Naval Moral.

The conduct of the 50th and 71st regiments, to whom this brilliant assault fell, and the cool and steady manner in which they formed and advanced, and the intrepidity with which they mounted the ladders, and carried the place, was worthy of those distinguished corps and of the officers who led them.

If the attack could have been made before day, a greater number of British troops would have been engaged; for it was intended that the 92d regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, and the remainder of the 71st, under the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, were to have escalated the *tete du pont*, and effected the destruction of the bridge,

* This term so frequently in use at present, in consequence of the modern system of the war in the Peninsula, simply means for a corps to rest on its march, either for sleep or refreshment, without pitching their tents, or forming any military defence.

The general importance of this measure, as connected with Lord Wellington's plan of future operations,

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bridge, at the same time that the attack was made on Fort Napoleon. The impossibility of advancing, however, unfortunately deprived them of this opportunity of distinguishing themselves, though it rendered the affair more brilliant for those actually engaged. One division of the force in this expedition, though not absolutely in action, had an arduous duty to perform, and contributed much to the success of the enterprise; for the diversion made by Lieutenant-General Chowne, with the troops under his command, against the castle of Mirabete, succeeded completely in making the enemy believe that the British would not attack the forts near the bridge, until they had forced that pass, and thereby made way for the coming up of the artillery. It is likely, indeed, that this corps would have turned this *diversion* into a real and successful attack, had circumstances permitted Sir Rowland Hill to avail himself of their gallantry and resolution.

The assault throughout was superintended by the gallant Hill himself; but led by Major-General Howard, whose gallantry was ably seconded by his staff, Brigade-Major Wemys* of the 50th, and Lieutenant Battersby of the 23d light dragoons.

From the great quantity of ordnance and stores in this position, it is evident that the enemy had considered it in a very important light; its destruction, so completely as it was performed, was therefore a material object. In this service the towers of masonry, which were in the two forts, were completely levelled; the ramparts of both in great measure dismantled; and the whole apparatus of the bridge, together with the workshops, magazines, and every piece of timber which could be found, entirely destroyed.

The guns were principally 12-pounders and howitzers, and were 18 in number; there was also a considerable proportion of powder in barrels and cartridges fixed to shot; but as the magazines were blown up immediately after the capture, and every thing destroyed, it was impossible to ascertain the exact quantity. There were also 120,000 musquet ball cartridges, 300 six inch shells, 380 rounds of case shot, 400 musquets, 20 large pontoon boats composing the bridge, with timbers complete, 60 carriages for removing the same, and also for the conveyance of heavy timber, a large proportion of rope of various dimensions, with anchors, timber, tools, and every thing complete on a large establishment for keeping the bridge and carriages in a state of repair.

The quantity of provisions too was considerable, including 30,000 rations of biscuit, 65,000 of rice, 28,000 of brandy, 17,000 of live cattle, and 18,000 of salt meat, &c. &c.

As an addition to this important success, it is pleasing to reflect that the British loss was far from severe, considering the arduous service in
which

French communications cut off.

tions, may be drawn from the consideration that the road from Almaraz affords the only good military communication across the Tagus, and from the Tagus to the Guadiana, below Toledo. All the permanent bridges below the bridge of Arzobispo had been destroyed during the war, by the different parties of belligerents, and the French had not been able to repair them; this one, indeed, destroyed at Almaraz, was a bridge of boats, but Lord Wellington had good reason to believe that the enemy had not the means of repairing it.

In addition to this, the communications from the bridges of Arzobispo and Talavera to the Guadiana, being very difficult, and not deserving of being considered as military communications for a large army, the evident result of this well laid, and well executed plan, was to cut off completely the shortest and best communication between the armies of the south and of Portugal; and, therefore, a leading incident in those manœuvres which enabled his Lordship to catch Marmont single handed at the gallant affair of Salamanca.*

In

which they were engaged. Captain Candler of the 50th was the only officer killed in the assault; and he was the first to mount the ladder, and fell upon the parapet after giving a distinguished example to his men; but leaving a large family to deplore his loss. The total amounted to 33 killed, and 144 wounded. The prisoners taken included a Lieutenant-Colonel, a Major, and several other officers; in the whole 259.

In this expedition it must be noticed that the Spaniards were particularly serviceable. The Marquis de Almeida, a member of the Junta of Estremadura, accompanied Sir Rowland Hill; and from him, as well as from the people of the vicinity, he received the most ready and effectual assistance it was in their power to bestow.

* It is a pleasing part of a biographer's task to mark in the present place the comprehensive mind of the gallant Commander in Chief in those arrangements; for we may see that even whilst preparing for himself a straight path to his subsequent harvest of laurels, he at the same time contrived to draw off some of the pressure of the French armies in the south from the patriots in that quarter, even whilst confining them within the limits of that very district.

Even

Further movements.

In the north, and on the side of Castile, the French seem to have been aware about this time of their awkward situation. In both Old and New Castile, they were in motion, two of their divisions having been sent across the Tagus by the bridge of Arzobispo, and thence moved along the road to Deleytosa, in order to cover the withdrawing of their advanced post of Mirabete.

The whole of the army of Portugal also made a movement to their left; part of them being on the Tagus, and Marmont's head-quarters being moved from Salamanca to Frontieros.

Further north General Bonnet with his band of plunderers had been able to do no better than to make two predatory excursions towards the frontiers of Galicia;

Even this was of an importance which, though not immediately observable, was doubtless of considerable advantage; for we see that nearly about the time when the French troops, as already mentioned, marched from Seville towards the Condado de Niebla, another considerable detachment under Marshal Soult went towards the blockade of Cadiz, and it was even expected that the French in Andalusia would be strong enough to make another attack on Tariffa; but as soon as the enemy received early intelligence of Sir Rowland Hill's advance, they were forced to make movements on their left, whither Gen. Drouet directed the troops under his command, arriving upon the Guadiana at Medellin on the 17th of May.

In this position was Sir William Erskine's division of cavalry which had remained in Lower Estremadura with a part of the 2d division of infantry, and some other troops under Lieutenant General Hamilton. On the 18th of May a detachment of Drouet's cavalry drove in their picquets as far as Ribera; but though much superior in force, he did not venture to attack them.

Indeed the effects of Soult's reinforcements to the besieging army at Cadiz might have been of considerable consequence as far as regarded the defence of that place; but this Marshal found himself obliged to move from the blockade of Cadiz towards Cordova; and the troops which had marched from Seville into the Condado de Niebla found it necessary to return to Seville about the same period.

They were not in sufficient time, however, to check the gallant Hill; for he had attained his object, and returned to Truxillo, beyond all risk of being attacked by a superior force, long before the French troops were able to assemble; they, therefore, had no other alternative, but to fall back upon Cordova.

Gallicia; but had again entered the Asturias, and resumed the possession of Oviedo and some other towns. Yet even there the Spaniards were beginning to exert themselves, and General Mendizabel was so far in their rear, as to keep possession of the town of Burgos, though the enemy still retained the castle. Indeed, at this period, in all parts of the country, the boldness and activity of the Guerillas were constantly increasing; and their operations against the common enemy were daily becoming more and more important.

From this period until the middle of June, the two armies kept nearly in sight of each other, but without attempting any thing on either side, until the 13th of June, when the British troops crossed the Agueda, and marched forward in three columns, the troops under Don Carlos d'España forming a fourth; and the whole arrived upon the Valmusa, a rivulet about six miles from Salamanca, on the following day. The enemy on the 16th shewed some cavalry, and a small body of infantry, in front of the town, and manifested a design to hold the heights on the south side of the Tormes, but their cavalry were immediately driven in by the British advance, and on that very evening they thought proper to evacuate Salamanca, leaving a garrison of about eight hundred men in the fortifications which they had erected on the ruins of the colleges and convents which they had demolished.

By the fire from these they protected the passage of the Tormes by the bridge; but this was unavailing, for the British troops crossed that river on the 17th, by two fords in the vicinity.

The forts were immediately invested by the 6th division under the command of Major-General Clinton; and, having been accurately reconnoitred, it was necessary to break ground before them; this was done on the evening of the 17th, and every thing was immediately put in a state of preparation for commencing a fire from eight pieces of cannon at the distance of three hundred yards from the principal of the

Arrival at Salamanca.

enemy's works in hopes that the possession of it would produce the surrender of the rest.

It was impossible to describe the tumultuous joy of the people of Salamanca upon the entrance of the British troops. Lord Wellington was looked on as their saviour from French domination—indeed much had they suffered for more than three years, during which time the French, among other acts of oppression, had destroyed thirteen of twenty-five convents, and twenty-two of twenty-five colleges which once existed in this celebrated seat of learning.

The enemy retired by the road to Toro; and their rear guard, so rapid was their progress, was fifteen miles from Salamanca in the evening. They continued their retreat by the same route on the ensuing morning, with the intent of collecting their army on the Douro between Toro and Zamora.

Marshal Marmont having collected his whole army on the Douro by the 19th of June, with the exception of General Bonnet's division, which was still left in the Asturias, and some trifling garrisons, he moved forward to oppose the British army on the 28th from Fuente Sabino.

Lord Wellington immediately formed the allied army, with the exception of the troops engaged in the operations against the forts in Salamanca, on the heights extending from the neighbourhood of Villares to Morisco; and the advanced posts of the cavalry and infantry retired upon the army in good order and without material loss.

The enemy remained in front during that night up to the evening of the 21st, on which night they established a post on the right flank of the British, the possession of which by them deprived the allies of an advantage which might eventually be of importance.

Lord Wellington, therefore, directed Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham to attack them in that post on the 22d, with the troops on the right,
under

under the command of Major-Generals Hope and De Bernewitz.

The enemy were driven from the ground immediately with considerable loss ; the assailants conducting themselves particularly well in this affair, which took place in sight of both armies. It is evident, therefore, that Marmont was unwilling to risk the bringing on a general action ; and, indeed, he thought proper to retire with his whole force during the night, and on the following evening posted himself with his right on the heights near Cabeza Velloso, and his left on the Tormes at Huerta ; his centre being at Aldia Rubra.

The object of the enemy in this manœuvre was to endeavour to communicate with the garrisons in the forts at Salamanca, by the left of the Tormes ; but Lord Wellington instantly developed their plan, and to counteract it, immediately changed the front of his army, placing his right at St. Martha, where there is a ford over the Tormes, and the advanced posts at Aldea Lingua : whilst Major-General Bock's brigade of heavy dragoons was sent across the Tormes in order to observe the passages of the river.

The French crossed the Tormes at Huerta, about two o'clock of the morning of the 24th, in considerable numbers of cavalry, infantry, and artillery ; and there was soon every appearance of a general movement in that direction. On this occasion the conduct of Major-General Bock's dragoons was conspicuously good, as they did every thing in their power to make known the enemy's movements, and opposed their advance vigorously, under many disadvantages, in order to afford time for the dispositions necessary to be made on the occasion.

As soon as the Earl of Wellington was certain that the French had crossed the Tormes, he directed Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham to cross that river with the 1st and 7th divisions ; and at the same
time

Assault and failure.

time he sent over Major-General Le Marchant's brigade of cavalry; and concentrated the remainder of the army between Moresco and Cabrerizos, keeping the advanced posts still at Aldea Lingua.

By noon, every thing being prepared for a general action, the enemy had advanced as far as Calvarissa de Abaxo; but Marmont, observing the disposition so judiciously made for his warm reception, thought proper to retire again in the afternoon to recross the Tor-
mes at Huerta, and from thence to the position he had before occupied.*

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* Up to this period the army was so completely occupied that the siege of the Forts did not advance with the rapidity the gallant Commander-in-Chief had expected. Indeed from the pains taken, and the expense incurred in their construction, he was prepared to meet with some difficulties, and provided an equipment accordingly; these difficulties were of a formidable nature; and the forts, three in number, each defending the other, were very strong, although not of a regular construction.

By the 25th of June, there were breaches open in the Convent of St. Vincenti, which was the principal work; but these could not be attacked with propriety until the assailants should get possession of San Cayetano; accordingly Major General Clinton made an attempt to carry that work by storm on the night of the 23d, the gorge having been completely damaged by the fire from British batteries—but the attempt unfortunately failed and Major General Bowes unhappily, but gallantly fell.**

Every nerve was now strained to hasten the reduction of those forts, in order that the British army might proceed further against the enemy; and accordingly on the 26th, in the afternoon, the ammunition which was sent for having arrived, the fire was immediately recommenced upon the gorge of the redoubt of San Cayetano, in which a practicable breach was effected at about ten o'clock in the morning of the 27th, and the assailants had succeeded nearly about the same time in setting fire to the buildings in the large fort of St. Vincenti, by the fire from which the approach to San Cayetano by its gorge was defended.

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** The gallant Major General was so eager for the success of the enterprise, that he had gone forward, with the storming party, which consisted of a part of his brigade, and was wounded; and after his first wound was dressed, he returned again to the assault, and received a second wound which killed him. The loss besides, both in officers and men, was considerable.

Successful assault.

These events were not only of importance to the general cause, but they tend also to display the character

The Earl of Wellington seized on the eventful moment, and instantly gave directions that the forts of St. Cayetano, and La Merced should be stormed ; and some little delay occurred, in consequence of the commanding Officers of these forts in the first instance, and afterwards the commanding officer of St. Vincent having expressed a desire to capitulate after the lapse of a certain number of hours. As it was obvious, however, that those propositions were made in order to gain time, till the fire of St. Vincenti should be extinguished, his Lordship refused to listen to any terms, unless the forts should be instantly surrendered ; and having found the Commanding Officer of St. Cayetano, who was the first to offer to surrender, was entirely dependant upon the Governor of St. Vincenti, and could not venture to carry into execution the capitulation which he had offered to make, the Earl immediately gave directions that the storm of that fort, and also of La Merced, should instantly take place.

This gallant assault was performed in the most undaunted manner by detachments of the 6th division, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Davies of the 36th regiment, under the direction of Major General Clinton. The troops entered the fort of St. Cayetano by the gorge ; and escaladed that of La Merced: the whole taking place with a very trifling loss on the part of the British.

The good effects of this rapidity of decision, and gallantry of execution, were soon apparent ; for no sooner did the British flag display its united crosses through the retiring smoke, waving protection over those walls where the French Eagle had screamed the cry of desolation, than the governor of St. Vincenti sent out to notify the surrender of that fortress, on the terms which had previously been offered. These were that the garrison should march out with the honors of war ; that they should be prisoners of war ; and the officers to retain their personal military baggage, and the soldiers their knapsacks.

With his accustomed promptitude and humanity, his Lordship deemed it expedient to accept the place by capitulation on those terms, and to put a stop to the attack ; this was, however, a generous concession ; for such were the judicious arrangements, and so ardent the impetuosity of the allied troops, that the 9th regiment of the Portuguese Caçadores had stormed one of the outworks, and were actually at that moment in possession of it.

This was another lesson to the French that neither their industry nor their valour could withstand the shock of British perseverance and British gallantry ; in fact in less than three weeks, were thus carried works which had taken nearly three years in constructing, and that with increased activity for the preceding nine months.

To make them tenable, a large expense had been incurred ; and indeed

rafter of the noble chieftain in the most admirable point of view ; perhaps indeed the most remarkable trait in his character upon this occasion, was the modesty with which he himself acknowledged the disappointment of his own expectations ; saying that he was *mistaken* in his estimate of the extent of the means which would be necessary to subdue those forts, and was therefore obliged to send to the rear for a fresh supply of ammunition, thus necessarily causing a delay of six days.

As soon as the enemy heard of the fall of those forts, they immediately withdrew their garrison from Alba de Tormes ; and indeed it may be said that the operations were carried on in sight of Marmont's army which had remained in its position, with the right at Cabeza Velloso, and the left at Huerta, till the night of the 27th of June, when they broke up, and retired in three columns towards the river Douro ; one of them directing its march upon Toro, and the others upon Tordesillas.

On the 28th Lord Wellington also broke up the cantonments of the allied army, and on the 30th of June they were encamped on the Guarena.*

On the 1st of July the British broke up their encampment, and the enemy having retired from
 3 N 2 Alaejos,

indeed those works being sufficiently garrisoned with about eight hundred men, and armed with thirty pieces of artillery, were thus of a nature to render it totally impossible to take them, excepting by a regular attack ; and it was obvious that the French Commander-in-Chief relied upon their strength and upon their being sufficiently garrisoned, and armed, as he had left in St. Vincent large depots of clothing, and military stores of every description.

* The total loss in these affairs on the allied side was 115 killed and 382 wounded. The prisoners amounted to 706—and yet Marshal Marmont has since had the modesty to declare that these garrisons caused a *greater* loss to the allies, than their own number amounted to. Now it must be remembered that even this total of the allies killed and wounded did not absolutely take place at the attacks only, but in other partial affairs between the two armies between the 16th and 27th of June inclusive.

Alaejos, they encamped that evening on the Traban-cos, with the advanced guard upon Nava del Rey. The Earl of Wellington having there got information that Marmont had destroyed the bridge of Tordesillas, he immediately gave orders for the British advanced guard to cross the Zapardiel, and to move upon Rueda, which took place on the morning of the 2d, supported by the left, whilst the right and centre of the army moved towards Medina del Campo.

It appeared however soon after that the enemy had not destroyed the bridge as reported; but that their main body had retired upon Tordesillas, whilst their rear guard was left at Rueda.

On this, Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton, immediately attacked their rear guard with Major Generals Anson's and Alten's brigades of cavalry, and drove them in upon the main body at Tordesillas. As the right and centre of the British army were however at some distance, Lord Wellington was unable to bring up a sufficient body of troops in time to attack the enemy during their passage of the Douro, and accordingly they effected that operation with but little loss, taking their position on that river, with their right on the heights opposite Pollos, their centre at Tordesillas, and their left at Simancos in the Pisuerga.

His Lordship on the next day, the 3d of June, moved his left to Pollos, and obtained possession of the ford over the Douro at that place, in front of the positions of Marmont's right; but as the ford was scarcely practicable for infantry, and the enemy's corps were strongly posted, with a considerable quantity of artillery, on those heights already mentioned which commanded the plain on which the British troops must have formed after crossing the ford, and as at the same time, he could not with propriety establish the army on the right of the Douro until he had adequate means of passing that river, he did not at that mo-
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ment think it prudent to push the advanced corps any further.*

In the course of the 15th and 16th of June, the enemy moved all their troops to the right of their position on the Douro, and their army was concentrated between Toro and San Roman. A considerable body then passed the Douro at Toro on the 16th, when Lord Wellington immediately moved the allied army to their left on that night with an intention to concentrate on the Gaarena. As the Earl of Wellington most candidly and modestly observed in his public dispatches, it was totally out of his power to prevent Marmont from passing the Douro at any point which he might think expedient, as he had in his possession all the bridges over that river and many of the fords; however he recrossed the Douro at Toro, on the night of the 16th, moved his whole army to Tordesillas, where he again crossed the river on the morning of the 17th, and there again assembled his army at Nava del Rey, having marched not less than ten leagues in the course of the 17th.

The 4th and light divisions of British infantry, and Major General Anson's brigades of cavalry, had marched to Castrejon on the night of the 16th, with
a view

* General Bonnet who, in the latter end of June, had been at Aquila del Campo, joined Marmont's army on the 7th of July. In fact Marmont seems to have felt himself obliged to make every effort in his power to keep the British in check; and, in consequence of this, the moment Bonnet joined him, he extended his line, pushing his right as far as Toro, where he began repairing the bridge which he had before destroyed.

Whilst the two grand armies were thus watching each other, Lieutenant General Hill was doing good service in the south, where he kept Soult so much in check, as to prevent him from making any diversion in favour of the army of Portugal.

General Hill broke up from Albuera on the 2d of the month, and moved upon his enemy, who retired before him to Cordova; on the 9th he was at Llerena, and at that time part of Soult's force had marched upon Fuente Ovejuna from Berlenga; and General Drouet, with ten thousand men, with a very small proportion of artillery had marched through Campillo, upon Zalamea. Such was the state of affairs in the south, previous to the important events now approaching.

a view to the assembling of the army on the Guarena, and were at Castrejon under the orders of Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton, on the 17th, not having been ordered to proceed further, in consequence of his Lordship having got information that the enemy had not passed the Douro et Toro; and there was not sufficient time to call them in between the hour at which he received the intelligence of the whole of the enemy's army being at La Nava, and daylight of the morning of the 18th.

The Earl of Wellington therefore, with a due regard to prudence, immediately took measures to provide for their retreat and junction, by moving his 5th division to Tordesillas de la Orden, and Major Generals Marchant's, Alten's, and Bock's brigades of cavalry to Alaejos.

Marmont's advance attacked the troops at Castrejon at dawn of day of the 18th; but Sir Stapleton Cotton maintained his post with great firmness, without suffering any loss, till the cavalry had joined him. Nearly about the same time, the enemy were enabled to turn by Alaejos the left flank of the British position at Castrajon.

These gallant troops now retired in admirable order to Tordesillas de la Orden, having the enemy's whole army on their flank, or in their rear; and thence to the Guarena, which river they passed under the same circumstances, and then effected their junction with the army.

The enemy were now enabled to take a very strong position on the heights on the right of the Guarena, a river which runs into the Douro, and is formed by four streams that unite about a league below Canizel. In consequence of this, the Earl of Wellington immediately placed the 4th, 5th, and light divisions on the opposite heights, and directed the remainder of the army to cross the upper Gaurena at Vallesa, in consequence of the appearance of an intention on the part of the enemy to turn his right.

Shortly

Shortly after this, however, Marmont crossed the Guarena at Cartello, below the junction of the streams, thereby manifesting an intention to press upon the left, and to enter the valley of Canizel. At this period, Major General Alten's brigade of cavalry, supported by the 3d dragoons, were already engaged with the enemy's cavalry, and had taken, among other prisoners, the French General Carriere; and his Lordship immediately directed the Honourable Lieutenant General Cole to attack with Major General Anson's and Brigadier-General Harvey's brigades of infantry (the latter under the command of Colonel Stubbs) the enemy's infantry which were supporting their cavalry. He immediately attacked and defeated them with the 27th and 40th regiments, which advanced to the charge with bayonets, Colonel Stubb's Portuguese brigade supporting, and the enemy gave way; many were killed and wounded; and Major General Alten's brigade of cavalry having pursued the fugitives, two hundred and forty prisoners were taken.

The enemy, on that day, did not make any further attempt upon the left; but having re-inforced their troops on that side, and withdrawn those which had moved to their left, Lord Wellington immediately countermanded that part of the army at Vallesa.

On the 19th in the afternoon, Marmont withdrew all his troops from his right, and marched to his left by Tarragona, apparently with an intention of turning the British right; but, with the most judicious rapidity, the gallant Earl crossed the upper Guarena at Vallesa and El Olmo with the whole of the allied army in the course of that evening and night; and then made every preparation for the battle which was expected to take place on the plain of Vallesa, on the morning of the 20th.

Marmont, however, seems not to have relished this steady appearance of the British; for instead of bringing them to action, he made, shortly after daylight,

another movement in several columns to his left, along the heights of the Guarena, which river he crossed below Canta la Piedra, and encamped that evening at Babila Fuente and Villa Mala ; whilst the allied army made a correspondent movement to its right by Cantalpino, and encamped the same evening at Cabeza Velloso, the 6th division, and Major General Alten's brigade, being upon the Tormes at Aldea Lingua.

During these movements there were occasional cannonades, but without any loss on the side of the British.

On the 21st in the morning, the Earl of Wellington moved the left of the British army to the Tormes, where the whole was thus concentrated ; and, at the same time, Marmont made a movement towards the river Huerta.

Through the whole of this manœuvring, the enemy's object was evidently to cut off the British communication with Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo ; but in this he was out-manœuvred, whilst on his side his outlying posts found themselves so awkwardly situated, that they abandoned and destroyed the fort of Mirabete on the Tagus, so far back as the 14th, the garrison marching to Madrid, and there forming part of the army of the centre ; in fact they were reduced to five days' provisions, and could no longer remain in an hostile country.

The important day, on which, perhaps, the fate of Spain depended, was now fast approaching ; and on the 21st, in the evening, Marmont crossed the Tormes with the greatest part of his troops, by the fords between Alba de Tormes and Huerta, moving by the left towards the roads leading to Ciudad Rodrigo.

The allied army, closely watching his movements, with the exception of the 3d division, and General D'Urban's cavalry, likewise crossed the Tormes in the evening by the bridge of Salamanca, and the fords
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in the vicinity ; when the Earl of Wellington placed those troops in a position, of which the right was upon one of the two heights called *Dos Arapiles*, and the left on the *Tormes*, below the ford of *Santa Martha*.

The 3d division, and Brigadier-General D'Urban's cavalry, were left at *Cabrerizos*, on the right of the *Tormes*, as a precautionary measure on the part of his Lordship, as the enemy had still a large corps on the heights above *Babilafuente*, on the same side of the river : and also, as he considered it not improbable that, finding the British army prepared for them in the morning on the left of the *Tormes*, they would alter their plan, and manœuvre by the other bank.

The gallant and watchful Earl received intelligence in the course of that night, the truth of which he could not doubt, that General *Clauzel* had arrived at *Pollos* on the 20th, with the cavalry and horse artillery of the army of the North, to join Marshal *Marmont* ;* and, as he was quite certain that these

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troops

* *Marmont*, who is a Marshal of the Empire, is said to owe that situation less to his services than to his personal favour with *Buonaparte*. General *Sarrazin*, who knew him well, tells us that he is now about forty years old, is well looking, his features regular, extremely well formed, and his gait very elegant ; but he is insupportably proud, and treats his subordinates with an air of contempt that has created him many enemies in the French army. He keeps up a princely establishment, even in the very camps—he has always numerous equipages with him ; he either is, or affects to be, very fond of hunting ; and is always followed by numerous packs of hounds wherever he goes.

Descended from a noble family, *Marmont* received a good education, and was intended for the artillery ; but during the first war of the revolution, whilst serving in the army of Italy, *Buonaparte* appointed him one of his aid-de-camps ; and his courage and intelligence soon obtained him the confidence of his general, who employed him on many trying occasions, on all of which he succeeded : and though only chief of battalion in 1796, yet he had the honour of being sent to Paris, to present to the Directory twenty-two stand of colours taken from the Austrians under General *Wurmser*.

troops would be able to join him on the 22d or 23d at latest, it became an important object to hasten the action as much as possible.

During that night the enemy had taken possession of the village of Calvarosa de Ariba, and of the height near it, called Nuestra Senora de la Pena, the British cavalry still being in possession of Calvarosa de Abexo; and shortly after daylight on the morning of the 22d, detachments from both armies attempted to obtain possession of the more distant from the British right of the two hills called Dos Arapiles.

In this manœuvre Marmont succeeded, not indeed by superior gallantry or skill; but the French detachment being the strongest, and having been concealed in the woods nearer to it than the British detachment, he was enabled to take it by priority of occupation, thereby materially strengthening his own position, and affording himself increased means of annoying those of Lord Wellington.

In the early part of the morning the light troops of the 7th division, and the 4th Caçadores, belonging to General Pack's brigade, were engaged with the enemy on the height called Nuestra Senora de la Pena; on which height they maintained themselves with the enemy throughout the day.

The

On the peace of Campo Formio he returned to France, where he married the only daughter of Peregaux, the rich and well known banker; one of the first houses in Paris for wealth and probity: a match supposed to have been arranged under the immediate influence of Buonaparte himself.

He accompanied Buonaparte to Egypt, and was not only his companion on his return, but the principal agent in arranging matters for that part of the expedition. Afterwards, when Dessaix overthrew the Austrians at the battle of Marengo, Marmont contributed much to the success of the attack by the fire of the artillery, which he caused to advance nearly within musquet shot of the enemy's line.

General Sarrazin asserts, that if military merit were to be appreciated by the quantum of luxury, pride, and arrogant tone of the individual, then Marmont should be considered as the worthiest disciple of Buonaparte!

Attack of Arapiles.

The possession by the enemy, however, of the more distant of the Arapiles rendered it necessary for Lord Wellington to extend the right of the British army, en potence, to the heights behind the village of Arapiles, and to occupy that village with light infantry; and for that purpose he placed there the 4th division, under the Honourable Lieutenant-General Cole; and although, from the variety of the enemy's movements, it was difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of Marmont's intentions, his Lordship considered that, upon the whole, his objects were upon the left of the Tormes.

He therefore immediately ordered the Honourable Major-General Pakenham, who commanded the 3d division in the absence of Lieutenant-General Picton on account of ill health, to move across the Tormes with the troops under his command, including Brigadier-General D'Urban's cavalry, and to place himself behind Aldea Tejada; Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry, and Don Carlos D'Espana's infantry having been moved up likewise to the neighbourhood of Las Torres, between the 3d and 4th divisions.

After a variety of evolutions and movements Marmont appeared, at last, to have determined upon his plan, about two in the afternoon; and under cover of a very heavy cannonade, which, however, did the British but little damage, he extended his left, and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace, by the position of his troops, and by his fire, the single post on the Arapiles which Lord Wellington occupied, and from thence to attack and break the line; or, at all events, to render difficult any movement, on the part of the allies, to their right.

However daring, or even judicious, was this plan of Marmont's, yet it comprised within itself the primary elements of his defeat, when opposed to such a general as the gallant and discriminating Wellington;

Commencement of the attack.

ton ; for, as his Lordship observed, this extension of his line to its left, and its advance upon the British right, notwithstanding that his troops still occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave to the allied army an opportunity of attacking him, for which his Lordship had long been anxious.

Lord Wellington, with a happy rapidity, seconded by the ardour of his gallant companions, immediately reinforced the right with the 5th division, under Lieutenant-General Leith, which he placed behind the village of Arapiles, on the right of the 4th division ; and with the 6th and 7th divisions in reserve : and, as soon as these troops had taken their stations, he directed the Honourable Major-General Pakenham to move forward with the 3d division, and General D'Urban's cavalry, and two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hervey, in four columns, to turn the enemy's left on the heights, (thereby outmanœuvring him *in his own move*,) whilst Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade, the 5th division under Lieutenant-General Leith, the 4th division, under the Honourable Major-General Cole, and the cavalry, under Sir Stapleton Cotton, should attack them in front, supported in reserve by the 6th division, under Major-General Clinton, the 7th division, under Major-General Hope, whilst Don Carlos d'Espagna's Spanish division, and Brigadier-General Pack's, should support the left of the 4th division, by attacking that of Dos Arapiles, which the enemy held. The 1st and light divisions occupied the ground on the left, and were in reserve.

Such were the judicious movements which, with the eye of an eagle, the gallant Wellington saw at a glance were necessary to counteract the preconcerted hostile manœuvres in his front ; and such were the names of those whose task it was to execute a plan so rapidly conceived, and so judiciously combined.

In



THE BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.

 Rapid movements of the British.

In fact nothing could be more daring than the plan of his Lordship, who thus changed a defence against the outflanking and attack of Marmont, into the very same movements upon his assailant!

This important attack upon the French left was instantly made, according to the plan of the Commander-in-Chief, and as completely, and almost as instantly succeeded.* General Pakenham, fully comprehending the plan of his noble brother-in-law, formed the third division across the enemy's flank, and overthrew every thing that opposed him. These troops were supported in the most gallant style by the Portuguese cavalry, under Brigadier-General D'Urban, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hervey's squadrons of the 14th, who successfully defeated every attempt made by the enemy on the flank of the 3d division.†

Whilst this was going on, Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade, the 4th and 5th divisions, and the cavalry under Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, attacked the enemy in front, and drove his troops before them, from one height to another, bringing forward their right so as to gain strength upon the enemy's flank in proportion to their advance;

* "After ascending the hill, till within forty yards of them, we never, but for a moment, once saw them. At the above distance we gave three cheers, receiving their fire, (one of their ranks kneeling,) returned it, and directly charged; upon which they immediately faced about and set off, but rallied again for a short time, when finding us inclined for nothing but the bayonet they set off before us altogether, and our cavalry dashed in amongst them and played the devil!"

Letter from an Officer.

† "The French looked at us, and looked savagely too, as if determined to withstand our charges;—it was all a fudge—we crossed bayonets, and away went the conquerors of Austerlitz and Eylau. We have lost few men in this battle; the French lost most of their men in their disorderly retreat. It was the second edition of Maida—we had only to cut down as they flew.—Their arms, baggage, drums, music, every thing was abandoned—the British and Portuguese cheering and killing till the night fall—that night fall which alone prevented the entire destruction and dispersion of the whole French grand army!"

Letter from an Officer.

vance; and Brigadier-General Pack at the same time made a very gallant attack upon the Arapiles, in which, however, he did not succeed, excepting in diverting the attention of the enemy's corps placed upon it from the troops under the command of General Cole in his advance.

The cavalry, under Sir Stapleton Cotton, now made a most gallant and successful charge against a body of the enemy's infantry which they completely overthrew and cut to pieces; but in this charge the gallant Major-General Le Marchant was killed at the head of his brigade.*

After the crest of the height was carried, one division of the enemy's infantry made a stand against the 4th division, which, after a severe contest, was obliged to give way, in consequence of the enemy having

* The gallant Le Marchant was a native of Guernsey; and, having embraced the military profession at an early period of life, served principally in the cavalry, being always considered as an officer of great activity, and strictly attentive to all the duties connected with his profession. In addition to his personal gallantry, he is particularly noticeable for the great improvements he brought forward in the army with respect to the sword exercise, and also in digesting the system published for the cavalry in 1796 from the War Office. But his public spirit and perseverance were the most conspicuous from the share he had in the framing and institution of the Royal Military College; a public seminary founded on a plan similar to that of the academy at Woolwich, but more extensively applicable to the education of every rank and description of army officers.

As a reward for his skill and perseverance, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, and held that office for some years with credit to himself, and advantage to the institution: but the last promotion previous to his joining the army in Portugal having given him a rank incompatible with the situation, he was once more engaged in active service.

He had been but a short time in Portugal when he received the afflicting intelligence of the death of his amiable consort, whom he had been obliged to leave in a state of pregnancy. His grief at so melancholy an event was now only to be soothed by the bustle of an active campaign; and there he fell—leaving a large family unprotected, but who have all been handsomely provided for by the benevolent patronage of the Prince Regent, and the generous gratitude of an applauding country.

having thrown some troops on the left of the 4th after the failure of General Pack's attack upon the Arapiles; and at this moment the Honourable General Cole was wounded. But at this critical moment Marshal Sir William Beresford being on the spot, he immediately directed General Spry's brigade of the 5th division, which was in the 2d line, to change its front, and to bring its fire on the flank of the enemy's division; and whilst engaged in this service he received a severe wound, which, for a long time afterwards, deprived the service of his active exertions.

Nearly about the same time too Lieutenant-General Leith received a wound which unfortunately obliged him to quit the field; on which Lord Wellington, whose eye was every where, immediately ordered up the 6th division, under Major-General Clinton, to relieve the 4th, and the battle was soon restored to its former success.

The enemy's right, however, reinforced by the troops which had fled from his left, and by those which had now retired from the Arapiles, still continued to resist; on which Lord Wellington ordered the 1st and light divisions, and Colonel Stubb's Portuguese brigade of the 4th division, which was reformed, and General Anson's brigade, to turn the right, whilst the 6th division, supported by the 3d and 5th, attacked the front.*

It

* Nothing can more illustrate the gallantry of the Commander-in-Chief than the various anecdotes of the battle contained in different letters from the army; but to insert even the tenth part of them would far exceed our limits.

Clear as was his conception, and judicious as was his plan, nothing could be more concise than his orders:—to General Leith, who was ordered to the attack of the hill, he had only time to say, "Push on, and drive them to the Devil:"—and when the business was over, and the different officers came round his Lordship to congratulate him previous to his pursuit, he only smiled, and said, "*Marmont has forced me to lick him!*" Indeed, it is evident that his Lordship would not have commenced

Pursuit of the enemy.

It was dark before this point was carried by the 6th division, and the enemy fled through the woods towards the Tormes. His Lordship immediately pursued them with the 1st and light divisions, and General Anson's brigade, and some squadrons of cavalry, under Sir Stapleton Cotton, as long as he could find any of them together, directing his pursuit upon Huerta, and the fords of the Tormes, by which the enemy had passed on in their advance; but the darkness of the night was highly advantageous to the enemy, many of whom escaped under its cover who would otherwise have been made prisoners.*

Lord Wellington, with his gallant comrades, renewed the pursuit at break of day, and Bock's and Anson's brigades of cavalry having come up in the night, and having crossed the Tormes, the pursuers were enabled to come up with the enemy's rear guard of cavalry and infantry, near Le Serna; when they were immediately attacked by the two brigades of dragoons, and the cavalry fled, leaving the infantry to their fate. On this occasion, his Lordship observed, that he had never witnessed a more gallant charge than was now made on the enemy's infantry, the whole of which, three battalions, were made prisoners. The pursuit was contrived until the evening of the 23d as far as Peneranza; whilst the scattered remains of Marmont's army passed through Flores de Avelin, and afterwards by Arevalo towards Valladolid, where they were joined by the cavalry and artillery of the army of the north, but too late to retrieve their broken fortunes.

It was difficult to ascertain exactly the enemy's loss

commenced the action even then, if it had not been for Marmont's blunder in extending his line, and thereby affording his Lordship, as he himself observed, the opportunity he had so anxiously wished for. It was, in fact, a military game of draughts!

* Owing to this darkness it unfortunately happened that Sir Stapleton Cotton was wounded by one of the British sentinels, after the army had halted.

loss in this brilliant action ; but the acknowledgement which has since been made by Marmont himself, *
 21. 3 P renders

* The plain and modest account of this decisive and gallant action, from the pen of the Marquis of Wellington, certainly requires no comment ; yet so much justice, though unwillingly, has been done to his gallantry and skill, by the narrative of his rival, that we subjoin that account, in order to preserve and hand it down to posterity, as that document alone is sufficient to form the basis of his future fame.

Report of Marshal the Duke of Ragusa, to the Minister at War.

“ Tudela, July 31.

“ Monsieur,—The interruption of the communications with France, since the opening of the campaign, having prevented me from giving you the successive accounts of the events which have passed, I shall commence this report from the moment at which the English began operations ; and I am going to have the honour to place before you, in detail, all the movements which have been executed, to the unhappy event that has just taken place, and which we were far from expecting.

“ In the month of May, I was informed the English army would open the campaign with very powerful means ; I informed the King of it, in order that he might adopt such dispositions as he thought proper ; and I likewise acquainted General Caffarelli with it, that he might take measures for sending me succours when the moment should have arrived.

“ The extreme difficulty in procuring subsistence, the impossibility of provisioning the troops, when assembled, prevented me from having more than eight or nine battalions in Salamanca ; but all were in readiness to join me in a few days.

“ On the 12th of June, the enemy’s army passed the Agueda ; on the 14th, in the morning, I was informed of it ; and the order for assembling was given to the troops. On the 16th, the English army arrived before Salamanca.

In the night between the 16th and 17th I evacuated that town, leaving nevertheless a garrison in the forts I had constructed ; and which, by the extreme activity used in their construction, were in a state of defence. I marched six leagues from Salamanca ; and there, having collected five divisions, I approached that town ; I drove before me the English advanced posts, and obliged the enemy’s army to shew what attitude it reckoned upon taking ; it appeared determined to fight upon the fine rising ground, and strong position, San Christoval. The remainder of the army joined me ; I manœuvred round that position, but I acquired the certainty that it every where presented obstacles difficult to be conquered, and that it was better to force the enemy to come upon another field of battle, than enter into action with them upon ground which gave them too many advantages ; besides, different reasons made me desire to prolong the operations, for I had just received

renders it highly probable, that the estimate of 7000 prisoners was not too much, as he acknowledged

6000

ceived a letter from General Caffarelli, which announced to me, that he had collected his troops, and was going to march to succour me, whilst my presence would have suspended the siege of the fort of Salamanca. Things remained in this state for some days, and the armies in presence of each other, when the siege of the fort of Salamanca was vigorously recommenced.

“On account of the trifling distance which there was between the French army and the place, and by means of the signals agreed upon, I was every day informed of the situation of the place. Those of the 26th and 27th informed me the fort could still hold out five days; then I decided to execute the passage of the Tormes, and act upon the left bank. The fort of Alba, which I had carefully preserved, gave me a passage over that river, a new line of operations, and an important point of support. I made dispositions for executing this passage on the night between the 28th and 29th.

“During the night of the 27th the fire redoubled, and the enemy, fatigued with a resistance which to them appeared exaggerated, fired red-hot balls upon the fort. Unfortunately its magazines contained a large quantity of wood; it took fire, and in an instant the fort was a vast fire. It was impossible for the brave garrison, who defended it, to support at the same time the enemy’s attacks, and the fire which destroyed the defences, magazines, and provisions, and placed the soldiers themselves in the most dreadful situation. It was then obliged to surrender at discretion, after having had the honour of repulsing two assaults, and causing the enemy a loss of more than 1,300 men, viz. double their own force. This event happened on the 28th, at noon.

“The enemy, having no farther object in his operation beyond the Tormes; and, on the other hand, every thing indicating that it would be prudent to await the reinforcements announced in a formal manner by the Army of the North, I decided on re-approaching the army of the Douro, secure of passing that river in case the enemy should march towards us, and there to take up a good line of defence, until such time as the moment for acting on the offensive should appear.

“On the 28th the army departed, and took a position on the Guarena; on the 29th, on the Trahanjos; where it sojourned. The enemy having followed the movements with the whole of his forces, the army took a position on the Zapardiel; and on the 2d it passed the Douro at Tordesillas, a place which I chose for the pivot of my motions. The line of the Douro is excellent; I made in detail every disposition which might render sure a good defence of this river; and I had no cause to doubt my being able to defeat every enterprise of the enemy, in case they should attempt the passage.

“The 3d, being the day after that on which we passed the Douro, he made.

6000 *hors de combat*. There were also taken nearly
 twenty pieces of cannon, ammunition waggons, two
 3 p 2 eagles,

made several assemblages of his forces, and some slight attempts to effect this passage at Pollos, a point which for him would have been very advantageous. The troops which I had disposed, and a few cannon-shot, were sufficient to make him immediately give up his enterprise.

"In continual expectation of receiving succours from the army of the North, which had been promised in so solemn and reiterated a manner, * I endeavoured to add, by my own industry, to the means of the army. My cavalry was much inferior to that of the enemy. The English had nearly 5000 horse, English or German, without counting the Spaniards, formed into regular troops; I had no more than 2000. With this disproportion, in what manner could one manœuvre his enemy? How avail one's self of any advantage that might be obtained? I had but one means of augmenting my cavalry, and that was by taking the useless horses for the service of the army, or such as belonged to individuals who had no right to have them, or from such as had a greater number than they are allowed. I did not hesitate making use of this means, the imminent interest of the army, and the success of the operations, being at stake. I therefore ordered the seizure of such horses as were under this predicament; and I likewise seized a great number which were with a convoy coming from Andalusia; all upon estimation of their value, and making payment for them. This measure, executed with security, gave, in the space of eight days, 1000 more horsemen; and my cavalry, re-united, amounted to more than 3000 combatants. Meanwhile I no less hoped to receive succours from the Army of the North, which continued its promises, the performance of which appeared to have commenced, but of which we have not hitherto seen any effect.

"The eighth division of the army of Portugal occupied the Asturias; these troops were completely isolated from the army, by the evacuation of the provinces of Leon and Benevente: they were without succours, and without any communication with the army of the North; because on the one side, the Trincadores, who should have come from Bayonne, could not be sent to Gijon; and on the other side, the General-in-Chief of the army of the north, although he had formally promised to do so, had dispensed with throwing a bridge over the Deba,† and there establishing posts. This division had been able to bring only very little ammunition for want of means of carriage; and this

was

* This succour, which had been sent, could not join the army of Portugal till after the battle, and at the moment of retreat.

† Particular circumstances appear to have opposed the execution of this measure.

eagles,* six colours, one General, three Colonels, three Lieutenant-Colonels, 130 officers of inferior rank,

was in part consumed ; nor did they know how to replace it. Its position might every moment become more critical, and the enemy seriously occupied himself with it ; inasmuch as if it were still thus isolated, it would remain entirely unconnected with the important events which were taking place in the plains of Castile. General Bonnet, calculating on this state of matters, and considering, according to the knowledge he has of the country, that it is much easier to enter than depart out of it, according as the enemy might oppose the entrance or departure, he decided on evacuating this province, and on taking a position at Reynosa. There, having learnt that the army of Portugal was in presence of the English army, and that they were on the point of engaging, he did not hesitate in putting himself in motion, and rejoining it.

“ Strongly impressed with the importance of this succour, and with the augmentation which my cavalry was about to receive ; not having learnt any thing positive farther concerning the army of the north ; and being besides informed of the march of the army of Galicia, which, in the course of a few days, would necessarily force me to send a detachment to repulse them, I thought it my duty to act without delay. I had to fear that my situation, which was become much ameliorated, might change, by losing time ; whilst that of the enemy would, by the nature of things, become better every moment.

“ I therefore resolved on repassing the Douro ; but this operation is difficult and delicate : it cannot be undertaken without much art and circumspection, in presence of an army in condition for battle. I employed the days of the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th of July, in making a number of marches and countermarches, which deceived the enemy. I feigned an intention to turn by Toro, and turned by Tordesillas, making an extremely rapid march. This movement succeeded so well, that the whole army could pass the river, move to a distance from it, and form itself, without meeting with a single enemy.

“ On the 17th, the army took a position at Nava del Rey. The enemy, who was in full march for Toro, could only bring two divisions with celerity to Tordesillas de la Orden ; the others were recalled from different parts to re-unite themselves.

“ On the 18th, in the morning, we found these two divisions at Tordesillas de la Orden. As they did not expect to find the whole army joined, they thought they might, without peril, gain some time. Nevertheless, when they saw our masses coming forward, they endeavoured to effect their retreat to a ridge which commanded the village to which we were marching.

“ We had already reached them. If I had had a cavalry superior or equal to that of the enemy, these two divisions would have been destroyed. We did not, however, pursue them the less, with all possible vigour ;

rank, whilst the number of dead on the field was very large. Marmont himself lost his arm, which was amputated

vigour ; and, during three hours' march, they were overpowered by the fire of our artillery, which I caused to take them in the rear and flank, and which they could with difficulty answer ; and, protected by their numerous cavalry, they divided themselves to re-ascend the Guarena, in order to pass it with the greatest facility.

“ Arrived upon the heights of the valley of Guarena, we saw that a portion of the English army was formed upon the left bank of that river. In that place the heights of that valley are very rugged, and the valley of a middling breadth. Whether it was necessary for the troops to approach the water, on account of the excessive heat, or whether it was from some other cause of which I am ignorant, the English General had placed the greater part of them on the bottom of the valley, within half cannon-shot of the heights of which we were masters ; I therefore, upon arriving, immediately ordered a battery of forty pieces of artillery to be planted, which, in a moment, forced the enemy to retire, after having left a great number of killed and wounded upon the spot. The army marched in two columns ; and I had given the command of the right column, distant from that of the left three quarters of a league, to General Claussel. Arrived upon this ground, General Claussel having few troops before him, thought he was able to seize upon the two rising grounds upon the left bank of the Guarena, and preserve them ; but this attack was made with few troops, his troops had not halted, and scarcely formed ; the enemy perceived it, marched upon the troops, which he had thus thrown in advance, and forced them to retreat. In this battle, which was of short duration, we experienced some loss. The division of dragoons which supported the infantry vigorously charged all the English cavalry ; but General Carrié, a little too far advanced from the 13th regiment, fell into the enemy's power.

“ The army remained in its position all the night of the 19th ; it even remained in it all the day of the 20th. The extreme heat, and the fatigue experienced on the 18th, rendered this repose necessary to assemble the stragglers.

“ At four in the evening, the army resumed its arms, and defiled by the left to proceed up the Guarena, and take a position in front of Olmo. My intention was, at the same time, to threaten the enemy, and continue to proceed up the Guarena, in order to pass it with facility ; or if the enemy marched in force upon the Upper Guarena, to return by a rapid movement upon the position they should have abandoned. The enemy followed my movement.

“ On the 20th, before day, the army was in motion to ascend the Guarena ; the advanced guard rapidly passed that river, at that part where it is but a stream, and occupied the commencement of an immense piece of ground, which continued without any undulation to near

Salamanca.

amputated after the action, and himself nearly taken prisoner during the pursuit. Four General officers also were killed, and several wounded.

Such

Salamanca. The enemy endeavoured to occupy the same ground, but could not succeed; then he attempted to follow a parallel rising ground, connected with the position they had just quitted, and which every where offered them a position, provided I should have marched towards them. The two armies thus marched parallel with all possible celerity, always keeping their masses connected, in order to be every moment prepared for battle. The enemy, thinking to be before hand with us at the village of Cantalpino, directed a column upon that village, in the hope of being before us upon the rising ground which commands it, and towards which we marched; but their expectations were deceived. The light cavalry which I sent thither, and the 8th division, which was at the head of the column, marched so rapidly, that the enemy were obliged to abandon it; besides, the road from the other plain approaching too close to ours, and that which we had having the advantage of commanding it with some pieces of cannon, judiciously placed, greatly annoyed the enemy; for a great part of the army was obliged to file under this cannon, and the remainder was obliged to repass the mountain to avoid them. At last I put the dragoons in the enemy's track. The enormous number of stragglers which were left behind would have given us an opportunity of making 3000 prisoners, had there been a greater proportion between our cavalry and their's; but the latter, disposed so as to arrest our pursuit, to press the march of the infantry by blows from the flat sides of their sabres, and to convey those who could no longer march, prevented us. Nevertheless, there fell into our hands between 3 and 400 men, and some baggage. In the evening, the army encamped upon the heights of Aldea Rubea, having its posts upon the Tormes. The enemy reached the position of San Christoval.

"On the 21st, having been informed that the enemy did not occupy Alba de Tormes, I threw a garrison into it. The same day I passed the river in two columns, taking my direction by the skirts of the woods, and establishing my camp between Alba de Tormes and Salamanca. My object in taking this direction was to continue the movement by my left, in order to drive the enemy from the neighbourhood of Salamanca, and fight them with greater advantage. I depended upon taking a good defensive position, in which the enemy could undertake nothing against me; and in short come near enough them to take advantage of the first faults they might make, and vigorously attack them.

"On the 22d in the morning, I went upon the heights of Calbaraca de Azzeva to reconnoitre the enemy. I found a division which had just arrived there; others were in march for the same place. Some firing took

Battle continued.

Such an advantage could not be gained without an adequate loss on the British side, but it was not of a magnitude

took place for the purpose of occupying the posts of observation, of which we respectively remained masters. Every thing announced that it was the enemy's intention to occupy the position of Tejares, which was a league in the rear of that in which he then was, distant a league and an half from Salamanca. They, however, assembled considerable forces upon this point; and, as their movement upon Tejares might be difficult if all the French army was in sight, I thought it right to have it ready to act as circumstances required.

"There were between us and the English some isolated points called the Arapiles. I ordered General Bonnet to occupy that which belonged to the position we ought to take; his troops did so with promptitude and dexterity. The enemy ordered their's to be occupied, but it was commanded by our's at 250 toises' distance. I had destined this point, in the event of there being a general movement by the left, and a battle taking place, to be the pivot and point of support of the right to all the army. The first division had orders to occupy and defend the ridge of Calbaraca which is protected by a large and deep ravine. The 3d division was in the 2d line, destined to support it, and the 2d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, were at the head of the wood en masse, behind the position of Arapiles, and could march equally on all sides; whilst the 7th division occupied the left head of the wood, which formed a point extremely uneven and of very difficult access, and which I had lined with 20 pieces of artillery. The light cavalry was charged to clear the left, and place itself in advance of the 7th division. The dragoons remained in the 2d line, to the right of the army. Such were the dispositions made towards the middle of the day.

"The enemy had his troops parallel to me, extending his right by leaning towards the mountain of Tejares, which always appeared to be his point of retreat.

"There was in front of the ridge occupied by the artillery another vast ridge, easy of defence, and which had a more immediate effect on the enemy's movements. The possession of this ridge gave me the means, in case I should have manœuvred towards the evening, of carrying myself on the enemy's communications on Tamames. This post, which was otherwise well occupied, was inexpugnable; and in itself completed the position which I had taken. It was, besides, indispensably necessary to occupy it, seeing that the enemy had re-inforced his centre, from whence he might push forward *en masse* on this ridge, and commence his attack by taking this important point.

"In consequence, I gave orders to the 5th division to take position on the right extremity of this ridge, the fire from which exactly crossed that from Arapiles; to the 7th division, to place itself in a second line to support this; to the 2d to hold itself in reserve to the latter; and to the 6th to occupy the ridge at the head of the wood, where a
large

a magnitude to distress the army, or to cripple its operations.

The only officer of high rank who fell was Major-General Le Marchant, to whom we may add Lieutenant

large number of pieces of artillery were yet remaining. I gave like orders to General Bonnet, to cause the 122d to occupy a point situated between the great ridge and the point of Arapiles, which defended the entrance of the village of Arapiles; and finally, I gave orders to General Boyer, Commandant of the dragoons, to leave a regiment to clear the right of General Foy, and to push the three other regiments to the front of the wood, on the flank of the second division, in such manner as to be able, in case the enemy should attack the ridge, to attack them by the right of this ridge, while the light cavalry should charge his left.

"The most part of these movements were performed with irregularity. The fifth division, after having taken the post assigned to it, extended itself on its left, without any cause or reason. The 7th division, which had orders to support it, marched to its position; and, in short, the second division was still in the rear. I felt all the consequences which might result from all these irregularities, and I resolved on remedying them myself on the spot, which was a very easy matter, the enemy not as yet having made any movement at all. At the same time, I received the report of the enemy having caused fresh troops to pass from his left to right; I ordered the 3d and 4th divisions to march by the skirts of the wood, in order that I might dispose them as I found needful. It was half past four o'clock, and I went to the ridge, which was to be the object of a serious dispute; but at this moment a shell struck me, broke my right arm, and made two large wounds on my right side: I thus became incapable of taking any kind of part in the command.

"The precious time which I should have employed in rectifying the placing of the troops on the left, was fruitlessly passed; the absence of the Commander gives birth to anarchy, and from thence proceeds disorder; * meanwhile the time was running away without the enemy undertaking any thing. At length, at five o'clock the enemy, judging that the situation was favourable, attacked this ill formed left wing with impetuosity. The divisions engaged repulsed the enemy, and were themselves repulsed in their turn, but they acted without concert and without method. The division which I had called to sustain that point found themselves in the situation of taking part in the combat without having foreseen it.

"Every

* General Bonnet, who would have succeeded to the command as the oldest General of Division, was wounded a few moments after the General in Chief. This event contributed to prolong the uncertainty, and the want of unity of action.

Marmont's detail continued.

nant-Colonel Barlow of the 61st. Amongst the wounded, however, were Lieutenant-Generals Cotton,
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"Every General made extraordinary efforts to supply by his own particular dispositions such as were on the whole requisite; but if he could attain it in part, yet he could not attain it completely. The artillery covered itself with glory, performed prodigies of valour, and in the midst of our losses caused the enemy to suffer enormously. He directed his attacks against Arapiles, which was defended by the brave 120th regiment, and was there repulsed, leaving more than 300 dead on the spot. At length the army retired, evacuated the ridges, and retired to the skirts of the wood, where the enemy made fresh efforts. The division Foy, which by the nature of the business was charged with the covering the retrograde movements, was attacked with vigour, and constantly repulsed the enemy. This division merits the greatest eulogy, as does likewise its General. From this moment, the retreat was effected towards Alba de Tormes, without being disturbed by the enemy. Our loss amounted to about 6000 men *hors de combat*.

"We have lost nine pieces of cannon, which being dismounted, could not be carried off; all the rest of the baggage, all the park of artillery, all the materials belonging to the army, have been brought away.

"It is difficult, M. Le Duc, to express to you the different sentiments which agitated me at the fatal moment, when the wound which I received caused my being separated from the army. I would with delight have exchanged this wound for the certainty of receiving a mortal stroke at the close of the day, to have preserved the faculty of command; so well did I know the importance of the events which had just taken place, and how necessary the presence of the Commander-in-Chief was at the moment when the shock of the two armies appeared to be preparing, to give the whole direction to the troops, and to appoint their movements. Thus one unfortunate moment has destroyed the result of six weeks of wise combinations, of methodical movements, the issue of which had hitherto appeared certain, and which every thing seemed to presage to us that we should reap the fruit of.

"On the 23d, the army made its retreat from Alba de Tormes, on Penaranda, taking its direction towards the Douro: the whole of the enemy's cavalry harassed our rear-guard, composed of the cavalry of the 1st division. This cavalry fell back, and left the division too much engaged; but it formed itself in squares to resist the enemy. One of them was broken, the others resisted, and especially that of the 69th, which killed 200 of the enemy's horse by push of bayonet; after this time they made no attempt on us.

"General Clausel has the command of the army, and takes such measures as circumstances require. I am going to have myself transported to Burgos, where I hope by repose, and care taken, to recover of the severe wounds that I have received, and which afflict me more from

Total loss of the British.

ton, Leith, Cole; Major-General Allen; Lieutenant-Colonels Elley, Barnes, Kingsbury, Bird, Cuyler, Ellis, Miles, Bingham, Williams, and May.

The total British loss, during the day, and through the pursuit, amounted to 500 killed, 3071 wounded, and 101 missing—Portuguese, 338 killed, 1648 wounded, and 207 missing—Spaniards, 2 killed, and 4 wounded; making a grand total of 840 killed, 4723 wounded, and 308 missing.

Up to the 30th, the British army continued the pursuit, and continued to take many prisoners; being that day at Olmedo, about which time a part of the fugitives

the dire influence which they have had on the success of the army, than from the sufferings which they have caused me to endure.

"I cannot do sufficient justice to the bravery with which the Generals and Colonels have fought, and to the good disposition which animated them in that difficult circumstance. I ought particularly to mention General Bonnet, whose reputation has been so long established. I should likewise name General Taupin, who commanded the 6th division. General Clausel, though wounded, did not quit the field, but to the end gave an example of great personal bravery. The General of artillery, Tidot, and Colonel Digion, commanding the reserve of artillery, particularly distinguished themselves. On this day, unfortunate as it has been, there are a multitude of traits worthy of being noticed, and which honour the French name. I will collect them, and solicit from his Majesty rewards, for the brave men who have deserved them. I ought not to defer mentioning the conduct of the brave Sub-Lieutenant Guillemat, of the 118th regiment, who sprung into the enemy's ranks to obtain a flag, which he seized, after having cut off the arm of the person who carried it: he has brought this flag into our ranks, notwithstanding the severe bayonet wounds he has received.

"We have to regret the loss of the General of Division Ferey, dead of his wounds, of General Thomieres, killed upon the field of battle, and of General Desgraviere. Generals Bonnet and Clausel, and the General of Brigade Menne, are wounded.

"I beg your Excellency to receive the assurances of my high consideration.

"Signed (with the left hand),

"The Marshal Duke of Ragusa."

* When Lord Wellington, before sending home the dispatches, was anxious to collect all the Eagles taken from the enemy, it was found that Marshal Beresford's regiment, the Connaught Rangers, had got three of them, and sold them to a Sutler for a bottle of Rum!

fugitives crossed the Douro, whilst the remainder, consisting of the left wing, proceeded for Tudela.*

It appears that the intrusive Joseph left Madrid on the 21st, with the army of the centre, supposed to consist of from ten to twelve thousand infantry, and from two to three thousand cavalry, directing his march by the Escorial, towards Alba de Tormes. He arrived at Blasco Sanchez, between Avila and Arvelo, on the 25th, where he heard of the defeat of Marmont, and judged it most prudent to retire that very evening, through Villa Castin to Espinar; after which, he directed his march with all haste to Segovia; for so hard was he pressed that, shortly after his departure from Blasco Sancho, two officers and twenty-seven men of his own cavalry were taken prisoners by a patrol of the British.

To describe the tumultuous joy which took place at home on this occasion is totally unnecessary; or to expatiate on the three days of continued illuminations, &c.—it is sufficient to say that on the 18th of August His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, created the

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gallant

* A melancholy and affecting occurrence took place, immediately after the battle, in a visit paid by an English lady to the fatal field, where she found the body of her gallant fallen husband. This was the amiable wife of Captain Prescott of the 7th fusiliers. She was thus left a widow in a foreign country, with two infant orphans to protect! but the humanity of British officers did every thing to alleviate her loss!

“Lord Wellington who, whenever there is an action, gets into the *thick of it*, had some hairbreadth and miraculous escapes; he had balls passed through almost every part of his clothes; nay, it was said that one of his holsters was shot away, and his thigh slightly grazed with a ball.

“When the enemy had crossed the Douro, and had reached Valladolid, Marmont sent an *Aid du Camp* to his Lordship, requesting permission to remain there without being considered as a prisoner of war; but to such a proposal his Lordship could not listen—

“All the deserters and prisoners agree that Joseph would rather be a prisoner in England, living as brother Lucien does, than be King of Spain; but he dares not budge on account of brother Nap, who keeps all the family in order.”

Letter from an Officer.

Additional honours to the gallant General.

gallant Earl a Marquis of the united kingdom; he having, before that, been elevated by the Spanish Regency to the rank of a Grandee of Spain, with the title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and created a Knight of the Golden Fleece, to which it is said His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has notified his intention of adding the first vacant garter.

In addition to his other honours, His Royal Highness also granted an armorial augmentation in the dexter quarter; of an "Escutcheon charged with the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, being the Union badge of the United Kingdom, as a lasting memorial of his glorious and transcendent achievements."

It ought to be noticed also that the Portuguese regency, in addition to the title of Condé de Vimiera, had latterly created him a marquis in that kingdom, with the title of Torres Vedras.

His recent appointment of Generalissimo of the Spanish army, is not only an honourable mark of gratitude, but also a most judicious mark of confidence; and one which, by producing unity of design and simultaneity of execution, may tend most efficaciously to the liberation of the Peninsula.

SECTION X.

Salamanca—Anecdotes of its occupancy—Great change in the Spaniards in favour of the British—Scandalous conduct of the French—Spanish constitution proclaimed—Retreat of the Intrusive King—Exertions of the Spanish armies—Entrance to Valladolid—Anecdotes of the same—Affairs in the south—Gallant exertions of the cavalry—Affair of Hinojosa—Concentration and partial advance of the army of Portugal—Capture of Astorga by the Patriots—Operations of the Guerillas in the vicinity of Bilboa—Defeat of the French columns by Mendizabel—Services of the British squadron—British advance to Segovia—Check of the Portuguese cavalry—THE MARQUIS ENTERS MADRID—Anecdotes of the same—Capture of the Retiro—Interesting Anecdotes of the Evacuation and Entrance of the capital—Proclamation of the Spanish constitution—Return of the Juramentados to allegiance—Metropolitan addresses to the Marquis—Siege of Cadiz raised—Anecdotes of the preceding blockade—Gallant attack of the French at Seville—Recovery of that city—Expedition from Sicily—Its operations—Pursuit of the French army in the north—Affair at Valladolid, &c.—Occupation of Burgos—Siege of the castle, and other interesting occurrences, &c. &c. &c.—CONCLUSION.

THE British head-quarters were again fixed at Salamanca, where Marmont had been so certain of passing the night that he had actually distributed the orders for billeting, &c. previous to the action. The change which this elegant town had undergone since it became a French depot was highly illustrative of their *fraternal mercies* in other parts of Spain, and indeed in every part of the world where they have carried horror and desolation, whether as republicans or imperialists.

In making a fortified town of this ancient seat of learning, these modern Vandals seemed studiously to

have destroyed every thing connected with the noble convent of St. Vincent, one of the most splendid buildings in the world, which they almost totally pulled down and converted into a fort. They even pulled down colleges to build walls, and absolutely filled up ditches and vacant places with elegant columns and pillars of the finest architecture.

But the greatest change observable in Salamanca, since its former occupation by the army under Sir John Moore, was not so much the ruin and havoc which every where met the eye, as the change in the manners and sentiments of the inhabitants of this learned and polished city.

When the British army were there formerly, the austerity and haughtiness of the inhabitants was observable in every thing; the British were received with coolness every where, and neither officers, men, nor General, were treated with much consideration; but a four years' residence of the French among them had then opened their eyes, and made the greatest imaginable change.

It was now beyond civility every where; the whole British army, officers and men, were not only treated kindly, but caressed; and the poor people seemed anxious to share their purses, their effects, in short, every thing they had, with them; nay, to give them up all, upon one condition, that of keeping away the villainous French from them.

We have seen how much Buonaparte and his *Savans* have professed to foster learning and encourage the arts; but of this there were few proofs given at Salamanca; for the very first steps his generals took were to shut up all the colleges, dilapidate the buildings, seize on their revenues, and imprison such of their professors, (or to send them to France,) who chose to retain a liberty of opinion.

On the first of August the new constitution was proclaimed with due solemnity at Salamanca, all public orders attending and taking the oaths, the *Grande*
dees

Further operations.

dees who had returned, the heads of religious houses, heads of colleges, municipality, and military.

In every quarter the Grandees and opulent inhabitants entertained the British and Portuguese officers; and the healths of George the Third, Ferdinand the Seventh, the Cortes, the British Parliament, the Prince Regent, and the Prince Regent of Portugal, were the leading toasts.

In the evening there were parties given, and good fireworks in the elegant square in the centre of the town. On the 3d of August a grand Te Deum was performed at the cathedral; there was also a bull fight, and in the evening a grand ball; the theatre being likewise open every night. In short, if appearances were to be believed, the Spanish natives, wherever our troops now arrived, seemed determined to preserve and to enjoy their liberties.

The operations of the two armies, after this decisive and sanguinary action, are too deserving of detail, to be passed slightly over; accordingly we must notice that the French army of the centre, after having passed through the Guadarama pass, and after its head had arrived at the Venta de San Raphael, returned to Segovia, where Joseph Buonaparte arrived on the night of the 27th of July.

The object of this movement was apparently to divert the allied troops from the pursuit of the army of Portugal, and to enable the latter to maintain themselves upon the Douro; in which, however, the enemy did not succeed. Their rear guard remained in some strength on the left of the Douro, during the 28th and 29th; but the light and 1st divisions, and the cavalry, having crossed the Eresma and Cega rivers on the latter day, the enemy's rear guard retired during the night across the Douro, and thence followed the movements of the main body towards Villa Vanez, abandoning Valladolid, and leaving there seventeen pieces of cannon, a large quantity of shot and shells,

Arrival at Valladolid.

shells, and other stores, and their hospital with about eight hundred sick and wounded.

The Spaniards were not idle at this time, in their various detached parties ; and on the 30th, the General in Chief of that district, Macquinez, took three hundred prisoners in the neighbourhood of Valladolid ; and at the same period, the allied advanced guard crossed the Douro, and entered Valladolid, in which, as the Marquis himself observed, he had the satisfaction of being received by the people with the same enthusiastic joy as he had been in all other parts of the country.

The army of Portugal having thus crossed and quitted the Douro, it was necessary to attend to the movements of the army of the centre, and to prevent a junction between the two on the Upper Douro, which report stated to be intended.

On the 31st of July the British head-quarters were at Portello ; and on that morning Lord Wellington and his staff entered Valladolid.

The enthusiasm with which his Lordship was received was beyond all description ; and he was met by the magistracy in their full order, accompanied by Don Julian Sanchez who had arrived before him.*

On

* Villavanez, August 2, three leagues from Valladolid.

" On the 30th we entered Valladolid ; two squadrons of the 12th light dragoons had the honour of escorting Lord Wellington on his *entrée*, and were the only British troops who entered the town ; the reception was flattering ; and, if we were to trust to appearances, the people must have been in great joy ; shouts of *Viva los Ingleses* almost stunned us. His Lordship was received with all the honours of war, by Martinez's corps of Guerillas in the Plaza Major. The windows of the square were crowded with people, whose exclamations corresponded with the pedestrian spectators. The French left in the town 600 men, mostly sick and wounded, whom we took prisoners. Before their departure, they destroyed a large quantity of stores, waggons, arms, &c. and blew up the bridge over the Pisuerga, near the town. The bridge over the Douro, at Tudela, is also destroyed. King Joseph is watched

On his arrival it was found that the French army had given a fresh proof of their total disregard to humanity in their conduct to their own soldiers, whom they left sick in Valladolid.

Eight hundred of these unfortunate men were left without medical or other attendants of any description, and without even an effort or request in their behalf—left to the mercy of men, whose companions they had hung and butchered—those whose wives, daughters, and sisters, they had violated—whose property they had destroyed!

The Marquis immediately took the route for Madrid; and, whilst the advanced guard and the left continued the pursuit of the army of Portugal, moved the right along the Cega to Cuellar, where he arrived on the 1st of August.

On that very day Joseph Buonaparte retired from Segovia, early in the morning, and marched through the Guadarama pass. On this occasion he left at Segovia an advanced guard, principally of cavalry, under General Espert; but destroyed the cannon and ammunition which were in the castle, carrying off also, with the most sacrilegious villany, all the church plate and other property, besides levying a considerable contribution on the wretched inhabitants of the town, who had thus another proof of the bless-

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ings

watched by the 3d, 4th, and 7th divisions, the heavy German, and General D'Urban's Portuguese cavalry, which are very fine troops.

"The general officers on both sides have not been neglected by the balls. Marmont's wound is severe; the irritation of his mind increases it much. General Ferrier died of his wounds at Almeida. The enemy are retiring towards Burgos and Aranda; from the former we are thirteen leagues, from the latter eight. The Guerillas are active against stragglers and small bodies; at Mugas, four leagues hence, they killed seven and took five yesterday. We, who have the advance, have but little spare time; we mount every morning at two o'clock, and pass sometimes twelve and fourteen hours on horse-back.

"A French officer at Valladolid said that the army never had so severe a business."

ings of French fraternity, and of the liberality of those upstart Corsican robbers.

On the 3d of August, the Marquis detached a force under Brigadier-General D'Urban to occupy Segovia, and at the same time it appears that Marmont's army were still continuing their retreat towards Burgos; whilst, in Estremadura, the enemy were endeavouring to increase their force.

At this period the war was carried on with additional lustre to the British arms in all parts of the Peninsula, particularly in the south, near Los Santos, where a considerable force was stationed under Lieutenant-General Sir William Erskine as part of Sir Rowland Hill's army.

On the 24th of the preceding month (July) a body of the enemy's cavalry, consisting of two regiments of dragoons and one of chasseurs, under the command of General of Brigade Almand, attacked, early in the morning, the Portuguese picquet at Hinojosa, which they drove in as far as Ribera, where four squadrons of Portuguese cavalry were stationed under the command of Colonel Campbell.

This force being greatly inferior to that of the assailants, Colonel Campbell was under the necessity of retiring upon Villa Franca, which he did in the best order: at the same time Major-General Long advanced from Villa Franca with the brigade of British cavalry under his command, and Captain Lefebure's troop of horse artillery to support him.

The Major-General, indeed, had received the report of the enemy's advance upon Ribera, too late to admit of his guarding against their occupation of that town, and the commanding heights in its vicinity; besides, the accounts of his force were at first so differently represented, that, there being three troops of the brigade absent, he thought it not advisable to act against him until they could be recalled; and as the attempt to dislodge him might bring on a serious affair, on ground on which all the advantages were

on the enemy's side, he was anxious, therefore, to secure the support of the 3d dragoon guards stationed at Fuente del Maestre, and to wait for the report of what might be passing on the side of Usagre, before he commenced any offensive movement. Then finding upon the arrival of the patrol from Usagre that no enemy was in that neighbourhood, he directed the troops he had with him to proceed against the enemy in front.

The brigade under Almand, on perceiving the advance of the force under General Long, halted on the high ground betwixt Ribera and Villa Franca; and during the interval of halt on both sides, Sir William Erskine directed Major-General Slade, with two regiments of his brigade, to move from Los Santos, and direct his march on the left flank and rear of the enemy.

On the advance of General Long, though with a very inferior force, the enemy immediately retired across the river, which enabled him to bring up his artillery on the heights they had relinquished, and to employ it with evident and very great effect, and afterwards to continue his advance and pursuit, as rapidly as was consistent with prudence, under all those circumstances, even beyond the defile of Hinojosa; where from the lateness of the hour, and the fatigue sustained by the troops, he thought it prudent to halt.

At Hinojosa the two regiments under Major-General Slade joined Major-General Long's brigade, though not in time to cut off the retreat.

This little affair sufficiently established the allied superiority, though inferior in numbers, though the French loss, from their retiring so early, was but small, only amounting to thirty men and many horses killed, with eleven men and about thirty horses taken; whilst, on the allied side, there were only one man killed and seven wounded.

In the north of Spain, when the Marquis of Wel-

lington transferred his head-quarters to Cuellar, the Gallician divisions, then occupying La Nava and Pollos, crossed the Douro again, and General Santocildes established his head-quarters in Valladolid. On the 7th of August, Tordesillas capitulated, and the siege of Toro was undertaken, but with means very insufficient.

On the 12th of August the enemy advanced with about seven thousand infantry and one thousand five hundred cavalry, from Palencia towards Valladolid, which then was only occupied by one battalion. On this advance, General Santocildes found himself compelled to retire, taking the road by Torrelobaton towards Villalpando.

The French now advanced towards Toro; and it was ascertained that their objects were to relieve Toro and Zamora, and then to march to Astorga, to raise the siege, and, having withdrawn the garrison, to destroy the works.

General Santocildes immediately withdrew the Spanish troops which were before Toro, and that place was instantly abandoned by the enemy; after which the Spanish general, having collected all his force at Belver, on the Rio Seco, commenced his retreat on Benevente, near which place the enemy's cavalry came up with that of the 6th army, (about 400,) and in the affair which followed sustained some loss.

On the 19th of August Astorga surrendered, when the French troops had already reached La Baneza in advance to its relief; but they immediately retired from thence on hearing of the capture of that place; a loss to them of great importance, and to prevent which they had commenced the before-mentioned operations.

The capture of this place seems a good answer to those who have been in the habit of accusing the Spaniards of incapacity and imbecillity: for Astorga, when it surrendered, was commanded by a general of brigade,

brigade, and defended by a lieutenant-colonel of engineers, its garrison also consisting of two battalions of the 23d, and one of the 1st regiments of the line, in all one thousand and two hundred effective men.

On retiring from La Baneza, the French troops took the direction of Zamora ; but evacuated that place on the morning of the 27th of August, retiring by Toro to Valladolid, when the Gallician army again moved forward, and at the close of the month occupied cantonments on the Esla, in the towns and villages near Villamanan, as will be more fully noticed.

The exertions of the Spanish troops in the direction of Bilboa also, are too important not to be slightly passed over. About the 13th of August, General Rouget, with a force of nearly three thousand men, advanced from Durango to attack Bilboa. General Renovales immediately took up a position on the left bank of the river, having his right on the heights of Bolueta and Ollargan, defending the new bridge of Bolueta ; his reserve at Castragana. As soon as the enemy's force was ascertained, General Renovales formed his plan of attack ; part of the vanguard and Campillo's regiment were to pass the river at Portugalette, and proceed to the heights of Santo Domingo, to attack the enemy's right at daybreak on the 14th, whilst General Porlier, with the vanguard, attacked the enemy who were in possession of the two bridges in the town ; and the troops at the bridge of Bolueta and the heights of Ollargan were to attack the enemy's left, which was strongly posted on the heights of Begona and El Morro.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 14th, the attack commenced with great vigour, and after a heavy fire of four hours the enemy were driven from the bridges of the town, and from the heights of Begona and Morro ; and at nine o'clock they commenced a precipitate retreat towards Zornosa, pursued by General Renovales's division, and the vanguard, headed by Porlier : but had the troops which were to have
attacked

attacked the enemy's right, arrived at the appointed time, the victory would have been most complete; and probably General Rouget, with the greater part of his troops, would have been cut off from Durango.

Their loss on this occasion far exceeded that of the Spaniards, which was very small in comparison with the magnitude of the advantage.

The steadiness of the new raised troops of General Renovales's division proved what the Spaniards might be under proper discipline; much, indeed, was certainly owing to that officer himself, who is stated to have been indefatigable in his exertions to complete and to organize his force.

On the 15th the Spanish army occupied Galdacano and Zornosa, with their advance close to Durango, which place the enemy had taken great pains to strengthen, having some artillery on the bridge of Yurreta, and occupying several houses in that town, besides having an encampment on its left, on the heights of Santa Lucia and Betuno.

On the night of the 20th, information was received at the Spanish head-quarters, that the enemy were advancing to the attack, and that a column had marched to Orduna, the high road from which to Bilboa joins the road from Zornosa to the latter place, about a mile distant from it. On this information, General Mendizabel determined to fall back and wait for the enemy on the left bank of the river, in nearly the same position as that occupied by General Renovales in the preceding affair.

On the night of the 21st, the French advanced from Durango in three columns; two of which came by way of Zornosa, and the other by Villero, with a view of getting possession of the heights that led from Arrioriaga, and flanked those of Bolueta, which latter formed the right and key of the Spanish position. Renovales's division occupied the ground from those heights of Bolueta to those of Olaviaga, which supported

ported the left, covering the bridge of St. Anton, the wooden bridge, and the bridge of boats.

At daybreak on the morning of the 22d, General Mendizabel, with part of the vanguard, proceeded to attack the column approaching by Villero, directing that the division of Iberia should meet him at Arrigorriaga. Dispositions were now made on the part of the Spaniards which seemed to ensure the destruction of that column; but the enemy, on finding them in possession of the bridge of Arrigorriaga and the roads leading to Bilboa, changed their direction, and by a most rapid march, favoured by the thickness of the woods, effected their junction with the second column, which was destined to make a simultaneous attack upon the bridge of Bolueta.

General Mendizabel with his vanguard, and Longar's division, arrived there in time to resist the enemy's attack; their principal efforts being directed to force the Bolueta bridge, which was defended in the most gallant manner. Here the French suffered considerably without gaining a foot of ground: and their efforts on the left of the line proved equally unsuccessful; for General Renovales at the head of his brave peasant soldiers met their attack in every point.

On the left the French attempted in vain to force the two bridges of the town, and that of boats; and, night coming on, they retired to their position on the heights of St. Domingo el Morro and Begona.

Arrangements were now made by General Mendizabel for a combined attack on the French position; but finding that they had, upon being attacked by Renovales, who crossed the river in front of the heights of Banderos, early in the night, commenced their retreat, no time was lost in pursuing them; and notwithstanding the great advantage they had in point of time, yet from the rapidity with which the division of Iberia marched, the pursuers came up with the fugitives near the town of Zornosa, and attacked the rear with such vigour, that this retreat became a confused

British advance to Segovia.

fused and disorderly flight ; insomuch that they did not even avail themselves, as they might have done, of several strong positions which the road from Zornosa to Durango presents.

At one of the strongest of these positions, indeed, they made an effort to stand ; but the gallantry of Commandant General Longa completely checked them ; for he led the attack at the head of his troops, animating them by his example, and having charged with a few cavalry and a small body of infantry, the enemy were obliged to abandon this position, and to fly for safety to the town of Durango.

In these affairs the enemy's loss was very considerable, and many prisoners and horses were taken by the Spaniards. The enemy's force was upwards of six thousand veteran troops, commanded by skilful French generals, particularly Rouget and Duvernette ; and the advantages resulting from the victory were not confined to the clearing this district of the enemy, but produced the best effects by the confidence with which it inspired the new raised Spanish troops.

During the whole of these operations, a constant correspondence and active co-operation was kept up by a British squadron under the command of Sir Home Popham, who proceeded from point to point, conveying arms to the Spaniards, and transporting their troops wherever their presence was thought most efficacious.

Having thus taken a view of the Spanish exertions in other parts of the Peninsula, it is proper to return to the operations of the Marquis of Wellington, who having found that the army under Marmont, so lately defeated, continued their retreat upon Burgos, in a state not likely to take the field again for some time, determined to bring Joseph Buonaparte to a general action, or force him to quit Madrid. Accordingly his Lordship moved from Cuellar on the 9th of August, arrived at Segovia on the 7th, and at St. Ildefonso on the
the

the 8th, where he halted one day, in order to allow the right of the army more time to come up.

No opposition was made to the passage of the troops through the mountains; and Brigadier-General D'Urban with the Portuguese cavalry, and first light battalion of the King's German legion, and Captain Macdonald's troop of horse artillery, had been brought through the Guadarama pass as early as the 9th. The Brigadier-General then moved forward on the morning of the 11th from the vicinity of Galapagas, and, supported by the heavy cavalry of the King's German legion from Torrelodonas, drove in the French cavalry about two thousand in number, and placed himself at Majalahonda, with the Portuguese cavalry and Captain Macdonald's troop, and the cavalry and light infantry of the King's German legion at Las Royas, about three quarters of a mile distant.

The enemy's cavalry which had been driven off in the morning, and had moved towards Naval Carnero, returned about five in the afternoon of that day; and Brigadier-General D'Urban having formed the Portuguese cavalry in front of Majalahonda, supported by the horse artillery, ordered the cavalry to charge the enemy's leading squadrons, which appeared too far advanced to be supported by the main body. The Portuguese cavalry advanced to the attack, but unfortunately turned about before they reached the enemy; and they fled through the village of Majalahonda, and back upon the German dragoons, leaving behind them, unprotected and unsupported, those guns of Captain Macdonald's troop, which he had moved forward to co-operate with the cavalry.

By the activity of the officers and soldiers of Captain Macdonald's troop, the guns were however moved off; but owing to the unfavourable nature of the ground over which they were moved, the carriage of one was broken, and two others were overturned—and these three guns fell into the enemy's hands.

The Portuguese dragoons, after flying through
22. 3 s Majalahonda,

Majalahonda, were rallied and re-formed upon the heavy dragoons of the King's German legion, which were formed between that village and Las Royas. The German cavalry then charged the enemy, although under many disadvantages, and stopped their further progress; but this they did only after suffering considerable loss, and having Colonel Jonquieres, who commanded the brigade, taken prisoner.

At this moment the left of the army was about two miles and a half distant, at the Puente de Ratemer, on the Guadarama river, and Colonel Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry, and a brigade of infantry of the 7th division having moved forward to the support of the troops in advance, the enemy retired upon Majalahonda as soon as they observed those troops, and night having come on, they retired upon Alcorcon, leaving the captured guns at Majalahonda, where they were again taken possession of.

In this unpleasant affair of the Portuguese cavalry it was still a satisfaction to the Marquis that he was able to report that their officers had behaved remarkably well, and shewed a good example to their men, particularly the Visconde de Barbacena, who was taken prisoner. But the conduct of the brave German cavalry was particularly excellent, as well as that of Captain Macdonald's troop of horse artillery. After this partial affair, the whole army moved forward on the morning of the 12th, and its left took possession of the city of Madrid, Joseph Buonaparte having retired with the army of the centre by the roads of Toledo and Aranjuez, leaving a garrison in the Retiro.*

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* The *Retiro* is not a park-like enclosure adjacent to Madrid, but the ancient palace of the Spanish monarchs, and inhabited as such until the last two reigns, when Charles the Second, who completed the new palace at the western side of the metropolis, repaired thither with his court. The palace of "El Bueno Retiro" is seated rather on an eminence at the east side of the city, and is surrounded by extensive grounds





Reception in the capital.

The Marquis in his public dispatches declared that it was impossible to describe the joy of the inhabitants of Madrid, upon the arrival of the British: at the same time he expressed a hope that the prevalence of the same sentiments of detestation of the French yoke, and of a strong desire to secure the independence of their country which first induced them to set the example of resistance to the usurper, would still induce them to make exertions in the cause of their country, which will be more efficacious than those formerly made.

The Marquis finding himself completely in possession of the city of Madrid, directed the operations for the investment of the Retiro to take place, which were completed on the evening of the 13th; and on that night detachments of the 7th division of infantry under the command of Major-General Hope, and of the 3d division of infantry under the command of the Hon. Major-General Edward Pakenham, drove in

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grounds and gardens. In this venerable, but now much mutilated, edifice, Charles the Fifth, who was King of Spain as well as Emperor of Germany, meditated the establishment of a universal monarchy in Europe; and his son Philip the Second, who, as far as in him lay, emulated the ambitious conduct of his father, enjoyed, by vain anticipation, the imagined conquest of England!

On the removal of the court to the new palace, the Retiro, and its umbrageous walks, were neglected, and fell into consequent decay. A part of the extensive pile of buildings were afterwards converted into a royal Porcelain manufactory, called *La China*; other parts of it were allotted to the reception of a museum, and also a menagerie. Part of the gardens was also used as a botanical nursery. The whole, more or less, therefore, was by the Bourbon Princes assigned to objects of public utility. The Gallic plunderers, on their obtaining possession of Madrid, instantly destroying these works of peace and civilization, converted this once famed residence of royalty into a place of arms, or species of citadel, to menace and overawe the devoted city. Between the gardens of the Retiro, and the inclosure of Madrid, ran, in a direction north and south, the famous walks and promenades of the Prado, which have been generally esteemed the most magnificent of their kind in Europe; but now, alas! almost totally destroyed by those who may now be justly called "*Les Sauvages de l'Europe*!"

the enemy's posts from the Prado and the Botanical Garden, and the works which they had constructed outside of the park wall; and having broken through the wall in different places they were established in the palace of the Retiro, and close to the exterior of the enemy's works, enclosing the building called La China.

The troops were preparing in the morning to attack these works, preparatory to the arrangements to be adopted for the attack of the interior line and building, when the Governor sent out an officer to desire to capitulate, and the Marquis granted him the honours of war, with the security of the soldier's baggage, &c.

On the 14th the garrison marched out on their road to Ciudad Rodrigo; and the works, on being taken possession of, were found to contain a garrison consisting of two colonels, a number of other officers, and a total of rank and file, &c. amounting in the whole to 2508.

Of all kinds of stores there were found 181 pieces of ordnance, 21,832 round shot, 1,148 shells, 23,000 musquets, near three millions of ball cartridges with a profusion of other stores belonging to the army of the centre; to which we must add a great quantity considered as belonging to the army of Portugal, amounting to eight field guns, a quantity of shot, 700 barrels of powder, 800,000 ball cartridges, with an immense quantity of intrenching tools, &c. &c. &c.

The events which took place in Madrid, previous to and after this success, are too important to be slightly passed over, and will in fact, if recorded here, form a text book for the future historian. It was, indeed, well observed in the *first Madrid Gazette* published after the liberation of that city from the grasp of the invader, that the many and important occurrences which passed in that capital from the 10th to the 16th of August were of such a nature as to fix the attention of Europe; and, we may add, to stamp the greatness

greatness of the immortal Wellington on the minds of latest posterity. Nor can we accuse the Spaniards of hyperbole, in their approval of the sentiment that a simple and faithful narrative of these events would cause tears of pleasure to be shed throughout Spain, the allied nations, and every part of the world where virtue is not a *meré* name; at the same time that they will draw forth groans of fury and despitte from the heart of Napoleon and his vile satellites. They are the triumph of the constancy, valour, and patriotism, of the Spaniards, and of the fidelity, generosity, and perseverance, of the allies—an eternal stigma and ignominy on despotism, ambition, and tyranny—a terrible lesson to tyrants—a salutary admonition to the people.

In order to prevent confusion in the delineation of these events, the patriotic narrator adopted a chronological arrangement—and that we shall follow.

On the 10th of August, as soon as accounts arrived of the battle of Salamanca, and of its fortunate issue for the cause of the allies, symptoms of inquietude and perplexity were observed in the whole court of Joseph Napoleon, who were well informed of the event, though they chose to pretend a belief in Marmont having gained a victory.

The alarm and dread which this occasioned in the French and their partizans was the greater, as they had hitherto reposed a blind confidence in their own strength, conceiving their troops to be invincible, notwithstanding the many defeats they had already suffered, both in Portugal and Spain.

This prejudice being thus dissipated, the perturbation and confusion into which they were thrown sufficiently pointed out to the suffering citizens the real state of affairs, which they in vain endeavoured to conceal. The public joy was manifested on all sides. The report of the great event was speedily circulated among the patriots, and the police was in despair, seeing that all their efforts to prevent it were in vain.

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In vain they employed threats—in vain they doubled their spies—in vain they filled the dungeons with patriots—in vain they circulated reports which nobody believed, because they circulated them. Common fame soon reported the death of the Marshal, and announced with accuracy the total destruction of his army; and even the lowest of the people were acquainted with the news.

The departure, or rather flight, of Joseph, of his court, and partizans, having been determined on in repeated councils of state, it chanced that about six in the evening of the 9th, some soldiers, who had been stationed to observe the heights of Guadarama, gave notice that they saw English battalions descending them.

Consternation immediately spread through the palace—orders and counter orders were given—and at length it was finally determined to leave the city at six in the morning of the 10th. This anticipation increased the disorder of the fugitives. In the greatest confusion, the immense convoy of the intrusive government was collected. Mourning and lamentation spread through all the houses of the partizans.

Some sold their moveables for half their value, or what they could get; others gave them to be kept by their friends; and others asked that favour from the insurgents themselves, whom but a few days before they had looked on with disdain. They turned into money all they could save of the wreck of their property.

Unfortunate fugitives! they were not yet acquainted with the French—they did not yet know that the money and precious effects, which they had with so much difficulty collected for their subsistence on their journey, would shortly become a prey to the rapacity of the troops that escorted them.

Many were robbed by their escort before they got but a league from Madrid. In fine, they departed about ten in the morning, covered with disgrace and
opprobrium:

opprobrium : and accompanied by the public execration and their own remorse.

The great mass of the populace of Madrid were the joyful spectators of this caravan ; they distinguished themselves by their prudence and tranquillity ; and, with a noble generosity, even pitied the misfortunes of those who had so grossly insulted and oppressed them.

Aribos and Aguelo, the confidential ministers of the intrusive king, having arrived at Madrid on this day—the one with a large escort, and the other only accompanied by three soldiers, they found the public indignation so strong that they were glad to march off in the morning of the 11th, with the remainder of the French troops, except those left in the Retiro. It was said that the object of those gentry was to burn some of their secret papers, and to save some effects, which in their hurry on the preceding day, they had forgotten, and in this they were partly successful.

On the 12th of August the French garrison, destined for the defence of the Retiro, shut itself up within these works, fearing the indignation and revenge of the populace ; and as soon as they left the city, the shops were again opened in full confidence of the speedy approach of the British, though they had all been shut for two days, from a fear of plunder, arising from a knowledge which every body had of former proceedings of the French army on a similar occasion ; and the people now felt themselves, as it were, able to respire after the oppression and slavery with which they had been hitherto borne down. In fact, as described by the Spanish narrator, the inhabitants, giving themselves up to their joy, manifested, by their language and embraces, all that flame of patriotism which they had been so long obliged to conceal.

In the afternoon of that day the allied army began to enter the city, and from that moment the public joy
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knew no bounds. The people of Madrid now seemed one united family. Friends, known and unknown, without difference from age, sex, or condition, conversed and embraced, giving mutual pledges of the liberty they had so anxiously panted for. The arrival of the first English, Spanish, and Portuguese officers raised this joy to the highest pitch. Never did any people manifest with so much cordiality and energy their gratitude to their deliverers.

The entrance of the Marquis of Wellington into Madrid was grand in the extreme. The enthusiasm of all ranks, particularly the females, bordered on madness—they were frantic with joy.

The entrance into Salamanca, Segovia, and Ildefonso, was equal to the triumphal entries of the heroes of antiquity. But when on the second day Lord Wellington made his entry into the capital, the spectacle was truly grand. His Lordship was attended by the flower of the British nobility, and by all the generals of the allied army; whilst the Spanish nobility, the dignitaries of the church, the magistrates, and all the principal inhabitants, came out to meet him, accompanied by almost the whole population of the city, to be present at the ceremony of the presentation of the keys.

The air was rent with cries of “Viva le Duc de Rodrigo grande”—but the elegant females and those of the first rank were the most particular: they threw under the horses’ feet not only laurels and flowers; but a very great many threw their shawls and veils, which were of the finest texture.

When the Marquis attempted to alight at the palace, women of the first quality, old and young, hugged and kissed him, and even every person whom they took for him, so that it was a long time before he and the generals got housed. There was, indeed, little trouble in getting billets; for the inhabitants got hold of the British officers where they could find them,

them, and insisted on making them inmates of their houses.*

During this and the following days, the acclamations and *vivas*, which hailed the conquerors of Salamanca, never ceased for a minute. The troops of the three nations, and the overjoyed inhabitants of the late ill-fated city, embraced each other without distinction, and appeared, what they really were, a nation of brothers. The doors of all the houses were seen instantly adorned as if by enchantment; and every thing contributed to prove that the inhabitants considered this day as the *Aurora of Liberty*.

“Brave and generous allies!” exclaims the narrator—“you met not with, at Madrid, the solemn pomp due to your triumph; but the people manifested to you their heart—that heart as constant in adversity and firm in its resolution, as tender and feeling in its gratitude!”

On the 13th of August in the evening, as we have already noticed, the investment of blockade of the *Retiro* commenced: and on that day was proclaimed, by order of the Marquis of Wellington, as Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, the Constitution formed by the General and Extraordinary Cortes of the kingdom; Don Carlos Espana, governor of the capital and its province, and Marshal Miguel Alava, presiding at the act.

On this solemn and important occasion the concourse of people, of applauding crowds, was immense, and appeared to have multiplied the inhabitants of the capital, who during the reign of the French tyranny had been reduced to one third of their original number. The ceremony was performed

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* When the French garrison was marched out of the *Retiro*, though they were privately sent off by a detour, the populace got notice, and were with difficulty kept by the British and Portuguese guards from taking vengeance on such of the officers and men as had committed the greatest depredations on them.

ed amidst the roar of the enemy's cannon, who were then making their last efforts to defend the inclosure of the Retiro; and thus, at the same time, it may be said, were heard the last groans of oppression and the first voice of independence—thus did the suffering patriots see themselves freed from the horrid and black load of disgrace, at the same instant as appeared to their eyes the luminous torch of their future felicity and social security.

“ Oh happy day !” exclaims the Spanish historian of these events—“ Oh certain presage of our future felicity ! Oh warriors of Albion, of Lusitania, and afflicted Spain, by you we are free ! Oh fathers of the country, by you we are happy !”—

The narrator then proceeds to state that on the 14th, the Retiro surrendered at noon, just at the time when the scaling ladders were preparing for the assault; when the garrison, amounting to 1900 men, marched out prisoners, leaving behind them near 200 pieces of cannon, 20,000 musquets, and a quantity of other effects. At the same time, he adds, must not be omitted the lively wish which the people manifested, again to occupy this new Bastile, where French cruelty had sacrificed so many victims; but still the people were prudent and moderate, and wished to avoid the sad recollection of their disgrace, with the sight of their oppressors.

On this day, in virtue of the Royal decree of the Regency of the Kingdom, the swearing to the constitution of the country took place in all the parishes of the capital.

The council of Madrid, in the midst of this scene of war and politics, were not unmindful of the softer duties of social life; and wishing to offer the Marquis of Wellington a proof of their gratitude, determined to entertain him with a magnificent ball. “ The numerous and enlightened concourse who assisted at it, the decorations of the ball itself, the abundance of the wines, fruits, &c. the order and
urbanity

urbanity of all, and the presence of the General of Europe, offered a picture worthy of admiration, even to those most accustomed to these scenes."

The Spanish authorities, however, were not content with mere demonstrations of joy ; but under the guidance of the Marquis took a most important step for the speedy return of the misled *Juramentados* to their social and military duties, and General Alava republished his proclamation to the Spanish soldiers under Joseph's colours, which had already been issued from the head quarters of the Anglo, Hispano, Portuguese army, on the 29th of the preceding month ; in which he says, " The General and extraordinary Cortes of the nation, wishing to celebrate the political constitution of the monarchy, have decreed a general pardon to all Spanish military men, of whatever rank they may be, and who are in the service of the tyrant, upon their abandoning it and presenting themselves to the Spanish chiefs, with as little delay as possible. Being charged by the Supreme government to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, I judge it my duty to make you acquainted with the favourable disposition of our legitimate government, in order that you may take advantage of it, and return into the bosom of your beloved country, and the estimation of your countrymen. The moment is most opportune. The enemy cannot much longer support themselves in the interior of the country, and in retiring from our frontiers your fate is decided ; you are going to perish in the war of the north.

Your country, brothers, friends, are greatly offended by your infamous desertion ; and you will give rise to a new war, unless you accept of the offers of this proclamation. Hasten then to present yourselves to the Spanish authorities, or the advanced posts of the allied army ; and in this manner you will cause your faults to be forgotten, by shewing that your heart was Spanish, although your exterior deportment gave reason for doubting it."—

The Spanish General concluded his address by stating that all those who came in should also be paid for their arms and such other military articles as they should bring with them; and so great was the effect of the proclamation, that even, in the course of a few days, a great number of those unfortunate and misguided men made their appearance; and, having taken the oaths of fidelity, joined their brethren in arms.

In fact it had such an influence as even to produce desertions from Joseph's army, to the amount of thousands daily. His whole line of retreat, in short, was covered with deserters; and on the 21st it was known that this intrusive king had changed his route, and was then proceeding by the Arragon road.

At this period the towns of La Mancha were inundated with deserters from his army; and nearly 2000 it was said had entered the capital, whilst many of the French partizans, who had not actually taken up arms, returned to their homes extremely disgusted with the treatment which they had met with from the retreating army.

The Marquis of Wellington still remained in the capital until the 22d of August, and on that morning the New Council went in a body from the Consistorial Hall, with the ceremonies of state, under the Presidency of the Field Marshal Don Carlos d'España, Commandant General *ad interim* of New Castile, and of the capital, and proceeded to the Royal Palace, to compliment him as General Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo; and being admitted into his presence, the General addressed his Excellency in the name of the whole Council in the following terms:—

“ Most Excellent Lord,—The Council of the capital of Spain, which has deserved the public confidence, and which was elected according to the laws of the Spanish Monarchy, sanctioned by the general and extraordinary Cortes of the nation, comes to offer to your Excellency the sincere expression of its
respect

respect and gratitude. The inhabitants of Madrid justly celebrated in history by their heroic patriotism, and who, in the glorious struggle in which the nation is engaged, were the first people who, without other force than their loyalty, shed their blood to defend the independence of their country and the rights of their legitimate Sovereign, manifest to your Excellency, by the voice of their Magistrates, the satisfaction they feel at seeing in the palace of their Kings the illustrious conqueror of Vimiera and Talavera, the deliverer of Portugal—the conqueror of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz—the hero who, in the plains of Salamanca, humbled the pride of our perfidious and cruel enemies, frustrated their designs, and broke the chains which disgraced the capital of the Spanish Empire—a memorable victory which history shall transmit to the most remote posterity.

“My Lord Duke—The representatives of a most loyal and grateful people hope, that your Excellency, thus worthily placed at the head of Spanish greatness, will be pleased to take this capital under your particular protection; and that the effects of this benefit will be the continuation of that precious liberty which we acknowledge to owe to your Excellency; and the restoration to his throne of the Monarch who is the object of our persevering love and honour, and destined to reign, according to a wise constitution, over an illustrious people, who will for ever be worthy of their liberty from the sacrifices they have made.”

To this the Marquis returned the following answer :—

“I am very sensible of the honour which the most noble and loyal Council of Madrid has done me in this visit, and am highly gratified with the polite language in which your Excellency, speaking in its name, has been pleased to mention the principal occurrences of the war in which I have borne a part. I have particular satisfaction in receiving a body of magistrates elected by the faithful people of Madrid
according

according to the forms provided by the constitution, sanctioned by the general and extraordinary Cortes, which, possessing the confidence and influence of the people, carry into execution the laws with impartiality and vigour. The events of war are in the hands of Providence; but I trust that these gentlemen and inhabitants of Madrid will not doubt that I shall continue to make every effort in my power to carry into execution the orders of His Royal Highness, who exercises the authority in the name of his Britannic Majesty, in behalf of the interesting cause of Spain; and I hope that these efforts will not only contribute to preserve the peace and security of the city of Madrid, but also ultimately to establish the independence, prosperity, and happiness, of Spain."

Perhaps the best record of the national gratitude, of the lively yet generous feelings of the Spaniards, was in an address published about this period, and which may fairly be considered as speaking the sense of the nation in general, and highly illustrative of the generosity of the Spanish character. It forms indeed such an important historical document that its substance cannot be considered as irrelevant in this place.

It is there exultingly stated that at last have disappeared the oppressors of Iberian liberty. Those much talked of armies, wherever they passed, causing famine, death, and general desolation, no longer exist; those Generals and their Chief, intrusive Joseph, remain terrified by the presence of a military genius, the great Wellington! the apostate Spaniards, who lent themselves to be the vile organs of the French maxims, are now wandering covered with opprobrium. Napoleon said that he came to regenerate it; he accomplished it; the Spanish slave turns citizen, the superstitious free from prejudices, the coward valiant, the credulous mistrustful, the egotist generous, the indolent thoughtful; the Spanish genius penetrated the iniquitous maxims of France,

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but neither this, nor its Emperor, nor its armies, can resist the light of that luminous star, who plowed the seas to hurl the eagles from the capital of Spain.

“Spaniards, we are already citizens! The constitution, to which ye have sworn with so much pleasure, is the best security of your rights. O, fathers of the country, do not delay the moment in which a grateful population may express to you their gratitude for the grand monument which ye have raised to the independence of the Spanish nation !

“As this happy moment is not yet arrived,” adds this spirited address, “let us divide with our generous defenders the last remains of our ancient prosperity ; let us occupy ourselves to their comfort ; already we owe whatever we enjoy to their efforts, and whatever we may in future enjoy—their subsistence, clothing, care in their sickness, promptitude in their conveyances, are the objects which should occupy us under pain of renouncing the pompous title of patriots and grateful men. Let us restrain in our hearts the feelings which the impudence of the French partizans naturally exerts, who, animated with a vain and ill founded hope, remain among us as a mark for our indignation, caused by them.

“Let us not offend nor insult them ; nor, by pretending to correct crime, commit a greater, in usurping authorities of a right which does not belong to us—exceeding the limits of that same constitution to which we have just sworn. Let us confide in the impartial justice of government, who will revenge our injuries, and separate us from those who are unworthy of the Spanish name. They, of every description, even to the sepulchre, will carry with them the public detestation.

“The sad remains of Marmont’s army, the march continually interrupted of a fugitive king, the uncertain state of Soult, and the horrible loss of imperial troops in the north, are not, in truth, events which

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can flatter their hopes: we on the other hand who contemplate the victories gained at Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, Astorga, Valladolid, and Madrid—we who see the standard of independence freely wave over the provinces of Galicia, Asturias, the two Castiles, Estremadura, and La Mancha—we who enjoy the privilege of being led to the field of honour by the first General known in Europe, should neither fear those deluded men, nor take advantage of our superiority over them. Let us be just in our resentments; praiseworthy in the prudence with which we tolerate them; the government is still just.”

With sentiments so laudable, it was scarcely possible that a people could err; and accordingly we find that in all those districts liberated from the power and oppression of the enemy, all the civil authorities, every social regulation, and in short every relation of life, returned to their proper bias, or level, without any convulsion, and without producing any inconvenience whatever.

The Spaniards were now not inactive in the general cause; and about the 28th of August their patriotic army of the centre, consisting of their 2d and 3d armies, after continually moving about for 19 days, had at last finally taken post at Hellin, in the kingdom of Murcia, for the purpose of observing the movements both of Soult's and Suchet's forces.

At these stationary head-quarters, there daily presented themselves an immense number of French partizans and juramentados: the first wishing to embrace the patriotic cause, and enter the Walloon guards; the others being destined for the infantry corps.

Some Juramentado officers had likewise deserted at that period; but they, as they had appeared at a time when the country had no occasion for their services, were sent to Majorca as common soldiers.

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On the 28th General Frere with 1200 cavalry had advanced between Allacete and Bonete, and General Bassecourt was in Allora, and to the latter officer a number of deserters were daily presenting themselves from Suchet's army, in consequence of his proximity to Almanza, the first place on the enemy's line.

About this period, General Mina attacked a corps of the enemy, composed of 3000 infantry and 200 horse, on the high Pamplona road, near Tulos; the enemy's loss on this occasion consisted of from eight to nine hundred men, whilst that of the Spaniards was but of trifling consideration.

General Villa Campa also, near Requina, attacked more than 1000 of the enemy's infantry, with some artillery and cavalry, commanded by General Baron Mepos, completely destroying them; the greater part were made prisoners, others were wounded, or killed, and the remainder saved themselves by dispersion, leaving behind them, two pieces of artillery, the ammunition waggons, the convoy of stores, &c. and all the baggage: which shall be more fully noticed.

About the 24th of August, intelligence was received at Madrid that Valencia had surrendered to the expedition from Majorca, and that Tarragona and Lerida were also in the hands of the allies.

At that period, in the south, General Hill had orders to advance, and his operations were to be conducted in conjunction with the division at Ayamonte, and with the forces under Ballasteros.

Up to this time, the greatest harmony prevailed between the allies and native troops; and, consistently with this good understanding, the Spanish Guerillas in the neighbourhood of Madrid placed themselves under the command of the Marquis; and, amongst the principal chiefs who had concurred in this arrangement, were *Medico* and the *Empecinado*.

Great hopes also were entertained of the general success from the future operations of the troops disembarked on the eastern coast. This expedition left

Sicily 7000 strong, totally British, consisting of a division of the 20th light dragoons, the 1st battalions of the 10th, 58th, and 81st regiments, the 4th and 6th battalions of the King's German legion, and the regiments of Dillon and de Rolie.

At Minorca, they were joined by about 4000 thousand Spanish troops, organized and disciplined in that place, thus forming a conjoint force of about 11,000 men, under the command of General Maitland.

On its arrival on the coast of Spain, the troops were landed at Alicant; and being joined by General Roche's division, and the horse of the 2d and 3d army, proceeded from that place in the direction of Valencia, on the 15th of August; and, though the French had determined to fortify themselves in the points of Ibi and Castella, yet no sooner were the troops in motion, than General Harispe disappeared from these points with the utmost rapidity.

In consequence of all these brilliant achievements, the Spanish Government determined to present the Marquis with the order of the Toison d'Or, or Golden Fleece, the most ancient and honourable order in Europe next to that of the Garter; and the Cortes decreed that a monument should be erected near Salamanca, in commemoration of the victory of the 22d of July. Upon the official details of that glorious event being read to them by the Secretary at War they unanimously, amidst reiterated exclamations from the galleries of—"Long live the nation—Long live our allies"—passed a vote of thanks to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the troops under his command, and appointed a deputation to wait upon the Honourable Henry Wellesley, his brother, and now the British ambassador there, to congratulate him on so signal a victory. The deputies were the Marquis Villa Franca, and Counts Toreno, Vega, &c.—The Marquis Villa Franca addressed the ambassador in these terms—"The General Cortes, after hearing with the most extraordinary emotion the re-
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lation of the victory obtained by the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, in the fields of Salamanca, have resolved, that in its name, and on that of his Majesty, thanks should be given to that General, the officers, and troops under his command; and likewise that we should, without any ceremony, wait upon and compliment your Excellency on this happy event, both as the representative of the Great British nation, and as the Brother of the great Hero who has obscured the triumphs of the tyrant."

Mr. Wellesley in reply assured them that he was above measure gratified by this proceeding of the Cortes, and that he hoped this great success would be followed by still greater advantages, and that the result of the whole would be the so much wished for entire liberty of the Peninsula.

About the early part of August the enemy had in a certain degree reinforced their troops in Estremadura, in consequence of which General Hill removed to Zafra.

No sooner had Soult heard of the battle of Salamanca, than, like a true disciple of Buonaparte, he ordered rejoicings and a grand entertainment in honour of Marmont's brilliant victory; and at the same time put every animal in the country in requisition, and took every possible means of forming depots, at the same time putting his camp in motion avowedly for the purpose of destroying General Hill's force. His absolute intentions were indeed unknown, but he made a slight movement on the left of that division of the allied army under Hill, who in his turn kept a good look out so as to act or move as circumstances might require.

Immediately afterwards, the French advanced in force upon Urnachos, when General Hill, in order to counteract them, marched his troops so as to occupy the positions of Villa Franca and Almandralago; where, shortly after, the British army received accounts of the victory. The enemy now retired by

Siege of Cadiz raised.

the road to Usagre, and the British proceeded to Los Santos and Zafra, as already noticed; after which General Hill sent a flag of truce to General Drouet with information of Marmont's defeat, and accompanied by twelve French prisoners, who could assure him of this great and important event.

At this period the French, in the southern parts of Andalusia, found themselves very unpleasantly circumstanced; and instead of acting offensively against General Ballasteros found themselves obliged, on the 25th of August, to evacuate all their lines of positions from Guadalate, Ronda, and the points of Gahera and Teba, blowing up their fortifications, spiking their cannon, and destroying their ammunition.

General Ballasteros immediately pursued them, and on the following day his troops occupied the Ronda, and Villa Martin; and so completely was the face of affairs now altered, that instead of being kept in check, he prepared, in the event of the enemy having left any force still to blockade Cadiz, either to march upon them; or, if they had evacuated their lines, to pursue them in their retreat. He was not in time, however, for either plan; for fearing for his own safety, Soult gave directions for the siege of Cadiz to be raised; and on the 24th and morning of the 25th of August, the besiegers abandoned all their positions and works opposite to Cadiz and the Isla, except the town of Port St. Mary's, where a body of troops remained until the middle of the day, and then withdrew to the Cartuga.

They left a very numerous artillery in the several works, and a large quantity of stores and powder; and although most of the ordnance was rendered unserviceable and useless, yet, from other causes, they appeared to have retired with more precipitation from their position than could have been expected. Indeed so apprehensive were they of being harassed, that a considerable body of cavalry was brought down,

down, previous to the commencement of the retreat.

The towns of Puerto Real and Chiclana were immediately occupied by detachments of Spanish troops, and a party of the 2d Hanoverian hussars together with some light troops under the command of Colonel Lambert.

At the same time Major General Cooke, Commander of the British forces in Cadiz, received information that Colonel Skerrett and the Spanish troops under General Cruz had arrived at Manzanilla on the 22d, and remained there in order to arrest the attention of Marshal Soult.

The raising of the siege, as may easily be conceived, produced the most lively satisfaction amongst the inhabitants of Cadiz, who exultingly exclaimed, "The greatly desired moment is arrived when we behold the haughty and insulting foe broken down and humbled even on these coasts of the Peninsula. The siege of Cadiz is raised! The brilliant triumphs and progress of the allied army, led on by the *great* English General, have already produced the most felicitous results. The siege of Cadiz has been raised, and its safety insured on the plains of Salamanca. The tenacity of the Vandal Soult, in retarding this happy moment, will in the end prove greatly advantageous to the common cause."

In describing the details of this event, it was stated that at dawn of day on the 25th commenced the *public* destruction of the enemy's works, redoubts, batteries, powder magazines, &c. The obscurity of the preceding night was not sufficient to screen his coerced determination, as the people of Cadiz could easily hear the explosions of different magazines before the light of day enabled them to behold the precipitate retreat of these ferocious invaders. The formidable work at La Cabazuela ceased to exist at one in the morning, and at ten the Cadiz garrison

took possession of that point, whilst numerous boats from the town crowded over to that shore so long in possession of the enemy.

The advance of the troops of the garrison to the front of the line, most opportunely added to the embarrassments of the retreating army, had not only precipitated his retreat, but gave them an opportunity of destroying those trains which were just laid for the destruction of the remaining magazines. The greater part of the battering cannon along the line were left untouched, or badly spiked. In fact the enemy had not time even to burn their launches, although many of them were sunk; and a great quantity of sabres and other arms were found in the salt pits; the sutling booths and infirmaries were left on fire. "Such was the confused precipitation of Soult!"

By noon of the 25th the Spaniards occupied the works which were erected in Puerto Real and at the Trocadero; in the castle of Santa Catalina, no mounted cannon remained; the carriages were burned, and the adjoining magazines and salt works destroyed. Don Marcus Gruceta proceeded to establish provisional governments on the evacuated quarters, and Don Francisco Maurell took possession of the towns in the vicinity.

A strong column of French cavalry and infantry retired to Xeres; but, on the morning of the 26th, proceeded on their march to Seville. The night before Soult left Port St. Mary's he levied a contribution of 12,000 dollars on that town, and imprisoned some of the inhabitants because they refused to pay their proportion—most of them were, however, liberated on the following morning on its appearing that they had not the means of advancing a dollar.

It was observed by a spectator that the destruction of the various works was fine in the extreme and uncommonly grand, the whole of Cadiz being, as it were, almost surrounded with immense fires, afford-
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ing a full prospect of the batteries as they blew up one after another. Fort Catalina in particular afforded a very fine sight; but as the enemy had mined the whole of the magazines, though only a part of them blew up, the general commanding was obliged to issue an order that no person should go near them; yet, in spite of the danger, it was almost impossible to restrain the public curiosity. The inhabitants of Cadiz, under these happy circumstances, seemed, as it were, to have renewed their existence; and the women, in particular, were in extacy at the idea of again beholding their relatives and friends at Port St. Mary's and other places, and whom they had been prevented from visiting ever since the French had first taken possession of Andalusia.

On the very day of the evacuation, an extraordinary sitting of the Cortes took place, when the minister at war, by order of the regency, presented an account of all that occurred in the enemy's line, when a general thanksgiving was ordered throughout Spain; and on the same day, the Duke del Infantado, then at the head of the regency, published the following energetic address:

“Citizens of Cadiz—The regency of the kingdom which beholds you in these moments penetrated with the most exalted joy at the withdrawing of the enemy's troops, which with so much audacity presented themselves in the front of your city walls, insulting and ridiculing your constancy and patriotism, is equally convinced that you are aware of the importance of preventing their re-occupation of those positions which they have first been obliged to abandon.

“You have suffered without murmuring, and with a resignation worthy of that reward which Providence has this day extended to you, in decreeing the end of a siege, which, however, could not tire out the constancy or devotion of the besieged. In order to secure at once your future tranquillity, and place you beyond the reach of any accident which may
arise

arise from the uncertain fortune of war, the government has determined to proceed to the execution of the works projected in the Trocadero, and which will be sufficient to secure the people of Cadiz against the repetition of such hostile operations in future. With similar impressions, continue, citizens of Cadiz, faithful to make, if necessary, similar sacrifices for the general advantage of your country. The government will have to make known to you such necessities, should they exist, and it regards your conduct; and finally the regency felicitates you on the most fortunate event of this day; so fortunate for yourselves, for all commercial men, and for the nation in general."

The siege of Cadiz was at all times an important circumstance in the affairs of the Peninsula; but, as its various details would have interfered with the continuity of the former narrative, and could only have been presented in a disjointed state, we avoided entering into particulars trusting that we should be enabled, by its final issue, to avail ourselves of an opportunity of noticing it in a more connected manner. We shall, therefore, here briefly state some of the leading occurrences.

The lines of circumvallation, on which the French army had been so many years employed, reached from Conil, by Torre-Bermesa, Chiclana, Puerto Real, and Puerto de Santa Maria, to Rota, an extent in the whole of about eight leagues.

During the thirty-one months of blockade, which commenced on the 5th of February 1810, the enemy never ceased labouring with the greatest activity on the construction of an immense number of redoubts and batteries, which at least contained about 500 pieces of cannon, of the largest calibre. They had also formed in their lines, parks of artillery, magazines, and foundries, calculated to support and increase the vigour of the enterprise, certainly one of the most extensive in its outline recorded in the history

tory of modern wars; though still inferior to the immense works of the British army at Torres Vedras; and to these prodigious means of attack the enemy had added a flotilla consisting of about thirty gunboats.

As the impregnable defences of the Isla de Leon left not the most distant hope of successfully attacking Cadiz on that point, the French early directed their attention and their labours to that quarter of the bay where the small Isthmus, called the Trocadero, is situated. It appears that their plan was to multiply their lines of fire upon that point in such a way as to silence that of the castle of Puntales and of the adjacent batteries; in consequence of success in which case they expected it would be practicable to effect a landing, which might enable them to form a lodgement between the grand battery of St. Ferdinand, and the land port gate, from whence, with mortars only, they would be enabled to reduce the city of Cadiz to ashes. This plan, though a bold one, and of very difficult execution, because they could not flatter themselves with becoming masters of the sea, was generally acknowledged, even by their most experienced engineers, to be the only one that held out the prospect of a successful result. In consequence, on the whole coast of the Trocadero, including Port Louis, the enemy had mounted about 200 pieces of artillery, many of them mortars of the largest and most augmented calibre, which kept up a tremendous, though ineffectual, fire upon Puntales and the adjacent batteries, which was always returned with redoubled vigour.

The enemy, even from the first, despairing of the effect of all these fires upon Cadiz, next applied themselves to the discovery of projectiles that might effectually damage the city. All the science of the corps of French artillery, and of a Spanish traitor called Domingo Vengoa, formerly a colonel of artillery,

tillery, was put in requisition, whose range might reach to the city of Cadiz.

On the 15th of December 1810, they made their first experiment with a piece of from eight to nine feet in length, in the shape of a cannon, but with the chamber and the capacity of a nine inch howitzer. The grenades thrown by this were partly filled with lead, and could not burst. Their range was about 6000 yards, or three geographical miles, and they fell considerably beyond the centre of the city; but without producing any other effect than that of a round shot descending from the same elevation.

The enemy, however, were animated to new attempts by the result of this experiment, and flattered themselves that, by multiplying their trials, they might at length succeed in throwing a number of projectiles calculated to annoy the population of Cadiz to such a degree as to produce disturbance, and thus hasten and insure the surrender of the place from the effects of discontent and confusion.

Time indeed has at length demonstrated that these hopes were ridiculous; for the enemy having constructed the two batteries of Cabazuelo and Angulo in the most advanced part of the Trocadero towards Cadiz, placed in them fourteen pieces of the new construction; and from the 24th of June 1812, they began throwing projectiles daily, which mostly fell within the city, but without producing greater effect than in the first experiments.

It appears that the enemy did not increase the number of their firings, from a well founded fear lest their pieces should burst from the shock of an impulse so extraordinary, and also from their immense consumption of gunpowder, every charge, it is said, requiring thirty six pounds.

Notwithstanding this, we have seen that the government, with the officers of the various public departments, although so far within range of the French fire, and exposed to continual danger and inconvenience,

venience, never abandoned their posts; indeed it must be acknowledged that they had no other place of refuge, unless they had gone to Majorca or Minorca, where their means of communication with their allies would have been much curtailed.

After this sort of bombardment for two months, which caused very little damage, and to which the population became at last habituated; they had the satisfaction of witnessing what the Spanish authority, to which we have been much indebted for the foregoing statement, calls one of the greatest results of the memorable victory of Salamanca, which has immortalized the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo.

“The whole of the 25th of August,” observes this narrator, “the enemy were abandoning their lines, having destroyed some of their batteries, and rendered useless a part of their artillery. On the same day the Spaniards took possession of their lines, where there was found an immense quantity of gun carriages, carts, balls, bombs, gunpowder, baggage, arms, and stores of provisions. Of the 500 pieces of artillery, many were found in a serviceable state, the enemy not having had time to destroy them, from the precipitation with which he retired. All these amount in value to many millions,” (undoubtedly he means not sterling money of Britain, but of the currency of Spain,) “but there has not yet been time to take an inventory of them, and we have been chiefly employed in destroying the works, and in bringing the artillery and stores into Cadiz and the Isle of Leon.

“Such has been the issue of the incessant labours of the enemy against Cadiz—labours which have been often blazoned in the French reports as models of their kind, and as, like the works of the Romans, calculated to excite the admiration of the world.”

Two thousand men were immediately set to work upon the projected cut, which is to convert the Tro-

cadereo into an island, and to render it, like the other approaches, impregnable. Were the enemy, therefore, under any unfortunate change of circumstances, to approach with any possible amount of force, his fire could not reach Cadiz, nor even its bay.

In this manner, therefore, the most important point of Spain will remain perfectly secure; and it will of course be impossible for the enemy, even if unexpectedly reinforced, to possess in tranquillity the rest of the province of Andalusia.

We now return to the operations of the British army at Madrid, where the Marquis of Wellington received information on the 18th of August, that Joseph Buonaparte had retired from Ocana two days before, and that his army was in full march towards Valencia.

About the same period the French abandoned Toledo which was taken possession of by a party of the Guerillas of El Medico; and, soon after the capture of the Retiro, the garrison of Guadalaxara, consisting of seven hundred men, surrendered to the Empecinado by capitulation, on nearly the same terms as those granted by his Lordship to the garrison at Madrid.

The marquis now received reports from Major General Clinton, informing him that a part of the remains of the army of Portugal had moved forward from the neighbourhood of Burgos, and that some of their detachments were understood to be in Valladolid on the 14th, in consequence of General Santocildes having withdrawn the troops of the army of Galicia which had occupied that town.

Some of their detachments were likewise on the right of the Pisuerga; but this advance did not take his Lordship unawares, for he had expected they would make this movement, as soon as he collected his troops together for the purpose of marching upon Madrid.

The intelligence also which he received from the
South

Capture of San Lucar.

South was to him of great importance; for from thence he learned that Drouet pressed less upon General Hill, having drawn in his right from La Guarena, though still occupying Hornachos; and though at that period General Vallete had returned to the blockade of Cadiz, yet Ballasteros had not only been so successful as to capture three hundred prisoners at Ossuna, but by the positions of his troops had been enabled to re-open his communication with the British garrison in Gibraltar; so that his Lordship had every prospect of being able to direct the whole of his force against the army of the centre and that of Marmont.

Indeed the Spanish prospects in the South were now improving rapidly in consequence of the gallant exertions of Colonel Skerrett, the brave defender of Tariffa, and who had been some time before dispatched with a considerable British and Spanish force to Ayamonte in order to harass the right wing of the French army under Soult.

On the 24th of August, Colonel Skerrett, and General Cruz Mourgeon in command of the Spanish troops, judged it advisable to make a forward movement on Seville; but before this could be done it was necessary to force the enemy's corps of observation of three hundred and fifty cavalry and two hundred infantry at San Lucar la Mayor.

In order to accomplish this design without hazard, but without any superfluous force, the gallant colonel marched from Manzanilla with eight hundred troops, composed of the 1st regiment of guards, the 87th, and the Portuguese regiment commanded by Brigadier-General Downie, accompanied with six hundred Spanish troops.

On arriving at the environs of San Lucar, not a moment was lost, but the Spanish column attacked on the right, and the British and Portuguese on the left, when the French were driven through the streets with precipitation, leaving some killed,
wounded,

wounded, and prisoners; and the combined troops took post in the place without the loss of a man.

Two days afterwards it was the joint opinion of Colonel Skerrett and the Spanish General, that it would be attended with the most beneficial effects, both on the public opinion, and in saving the city of Seville from being plundered, if the French could be precipitated in their retreat from that place; the allied troops in consequence marched for that purpose, and arrived at the heights of Castillejos de la Cuesta, immediately above Seville, on the morning of the 27th at six o'clock.

The Spanish troops formed the advance, and the French advance was soon driven in; when the cavalry retired leaving the infantry in the plain, who, thus deserted by their friends, were immediately charged by the Spanish cavalry, and a great number made prisoners.

In front there was a redoubt in advance which it was necessary to carry, being on the left of the assailants, and this redoubt the Spaniards attacked, losing a great number of men; but the different allied columns having now advanced into the plain, the redoubt was turned, and its communication with the city cut off, when it surrendered.

The Spanish troops under General Cruz now took the right, and made a detour to arrive at, and attack on the flank of Triana, one of the suburbs of Seville.

Immediately, with great precision, Colonel Skerrett ordered the redoubt to be masqued by a detachment of the 20th Portuguese regiment, and at the same time advanced a field piece with some troops to keep in check the enemy's fire at one of the gates opposite to the assailants.

After giving sufficient time for the Spanish column to arrive at its station, the British and Portuguese troops advanced to the attack in front; the cavalry and artillery advancing at a gallop, supported by the grenadiers of the guards, and the infantry following.

The

The enemy immediately abandoned the gate ; and the assailants entered the suburbs, and advanced near to the bridge of Seville with as much rapidity as possible, in hopes of preventing its destruction, which would have rendered the success of the allied troops extremely difficult, if not doubtful. At this movement, the advance were checked by the heavy fire of grape shot and musquetry at the turning of the street ; but the grenadiers of the guards immediately advancing to their support, drove every thing before them.

At this critical moment the Spanish column, which had attacked in the quarter of Triana, most fortunately arrived, when the whole body advanced to the bridge under a very heavy fire. Captain Cadoux, of the 95th, with great judgement made a flank movement on the allied left ; Captain Roberts with great rapidity brought up two guns ; a heavy fire of artillery and musquetry was thus soon brought to bear on the enemy, who were driven from their position on the other side of the river, and from the bridge, which they had only in part destroyed.

The grenadiers of the guards, and some Spanish troops, led the columns that crossed the bridge. A general rout ensued, and the enemy were driven through the streets, which were strewed with their dead, and pursued at all points, leaving behind them valuable captures of horses, baggage, and money.

Colonel Skerrett in his dispatches after this brilliant achievement declared that it was impossible for him to express the joy of the people of Seville, at the British victory. Even under the fire of the French, they brought planks to lay across the broken bridge ; and their acclamations and vociferous marks of joy, added to the immense crowd, rendered it very difficult for the officers to march through the streets with their columns.

The vast extent of the city, the exhausted state of the troops who had advanced in double quick time

Capture of Seville.

for three miles, and the want of cavalry, rendered it impossible to continue the pursuit beyond the town—and indeed such was the rapidity of the attack, that this victory over an entire French division and the passage of a bridge which the enemy had materially destroyed, with his infantry and artillery formed on the banks of the river, was achieved with a loss so small as scarcely to be credible.

In fact the gallant narrator had only to regret the loss of one officer, Lieutenant Brett of the royal artillery, who was killed gallantly fighting his gun at the bridge: before which, however, his intrepidity had been observed by the whole detachment.

The only officer wounded was Lieutenant Llewelyn of the 95th rifle corps; and these with one sergeant, one rank and file, and two horses, killed, together with twelve rank and file and one horse wounded, formed the whole of the British loss.

Yet it was justly said that in this affair, though not a sanguinary one, the conduct of every officer and soldier was above all praise; whilst during the whole of the attack our allies, the Spaniards, rivalled the conduct of the British and Portuguese troops; and the modest yet gallant colonel most liberally observed that General Cruz Mourgeon, by his military talents and bravery, principally contributed to the successful result of the day.

In this affair the loss of the enemy must have been very great; several officers were taken, and nearly two hundred prisoners in all.

Many guns and military stores were taken: and two of the field pieces, which the enemy advanced, fell into the hands of the allies.

On that very night also, a division of seven or eight thousand French troops passed by: but they ventured not any movement against Seville; and, as Colonel Skerrett observed, the allied attack and occupation had thus most opportunely saved the city
from

Impudent proclamation of Joseph.

from the devastation and contributions which it must otherwise have undergone.

About the 25th of August information was conveyed to the Marquis, that Joseph Buonaparte had continued his march towards Valencia, his rear guard on the 19th having been as forward as La Roda; and at the same time he was put in possession of a communication with the Sicilian expedition, having received dispatches from Lieutenant-General Maitland who had advanced from Alicant as far as Monforte. At this period, on the eastern coast of Spain, General Roche had taken post at Alcoy, from whence Suchet had retired to St. Felipe; and it was generally believed that he intended to cross the river Xucar: and in conjunction with General Roche's movement, General O'Donnel on the 17th was at Yecla in Murcia.

It is a curious fact that about this time, Joseph Buonaparte rendered furious against the worthy and patriotic inhabitants of Madrid, by their having made no resistance against the "*parties of the Insurgents*," and by the general satisfaction they shewed upon the entrance of these into the very place of his court, had actually the effrontery to declare that Madrid shall never again be the residence of his *august presence*, and that this honour and pleasure of receiving his *royal person* should alone belong to those cities which shew their attachment to the *good cause*, and their efforts for the general good of the nation, such as Valentia and Seville. It happened unluckily, however, that the flying intruder, at the time when he penned this decree, was ignorant of Seville being occupied by the *insurgents*, and of its happiness at the change.

When Joseph and Suchet formed a junction, their united forces did not amount to more than 22,000 men, but the Juramentados continued to desert daily not only from Joseph's army, but also from Soult's then at Grenada.

As a proof of the spirit of robbing with which Joseph is animated, it is sufficient to recount that on his arrival at Valencia he was followed by 370 coaches, more than 800 waggons, and an innumerable number of baggage carts, all laden with plunder, partly taken from those whom they left behind, and partly the property of those who had at first attempted to accompany his army. On the journey many of these fugitives were purposely deserted, after being robbed of their all; for three days a great part of them were without bread, or even water, and numbers died of fatigue as well as hunger.

In addition to their miseries, swarms of Guerillas hovered on their flanks and rear, hourly cutting off entire companies of Juramentados, and parties of partizans.

At this period the conduct of Soult seemed quite undetermined; but it was known that he had sent convoys towards Cordova, whilst in the road from Seville towards Grenada he had ordered the different flying corps or garrisons to be collected.

General Duran, it appeared, had entered Logrono, where he had destroyed the fortifications, the house of inquisition, and the fort called Balbuina: but the French General Darque, with 2500 infantry and 200 horse, having advanced as if with an intention of attack, Duran placed himself within half a league of the place, in a kind of ambuscade, with 1400 infantry and about 160 horse, where he waited their advance; when the French were forced to retire with a very severe loss.

In the north, the remains of the army of Portugal, joined by the forces which had been in the Asturias, attempted to make some hostile movements, and on the 18th had detached some troops from Valladolid which drove in Major-General Anson's picquets at uдела; but that officer was still in sufficient force to maintain his posts on the left of the Douro.

Foiled in their attempt to push him further, and
fearful,

Concentration of the French forces.

fearful for their own detachments, the enemy next moved a body of troops from the vicinity of Valladolid, consisting of about six thousand infantry, and twelve hundred cavalry, under General Foy, who felt himself strong enough to venture as far as Toro, from whence he drew off the garrison. In fact it appears that Foy's principal object in his movement was to collect these scattered garrisons of Toro and Zamora; in addition to which he had hoped to cut off the Portuguese militia employed in the blockade of the latter place; but being disappointed in this expectation by the good conduct of the Portuguese general, he marched from the vicinity of Benevente, but not until he had been joined by a body of infantry equal to his own in number, which had likewise marched from the Pisuerga, on the Rio Seco; and on the 20th of August, the whole were about two leagues distant from Benevente, a movement which they were enabled to make unmolested, in consequence of the Gallician troops having all marched towards Astorga, with the exception of the Spanish cavalry which still remained in Benevente, and saved that place from the intended French visit.

Being forced to leave the garrison of Zamora still blockaded by the Portuguese army under the Condé D'Amarante, they, however, ventured to proceed towards Astorga in hopes of relieving that garrison.

The enterprising spirit of the Guerillas, at this point of time, cannot be better delineated than by a dashing exploit of Espos y Mina, who states in a letter to General Mendizabel, that the French General Abbé, having on the 29th of August marched from Pampeluna with 3000 infantry and 200 horse to collect wood, he resolved to fight him, which he actually carried into execution; and, notwithstanding their proximity to Pampeluna, obliged them to abandon the wood they had collected, and the waggons in which it was to have been conveyed. In fact he pursued them until within cannon shot of that town,

Dashing exploit of the Guerillas.

where he formed in order of battle for two hours, without the enemy daring to molest him. But his own energetic account is too interesting to be slightly passed over, in which he says, "the 21st of August may be called a day of humiliation for Abbé, and of ignominy for the soldiers. The garrison of Pampe-luna having arrived to the extreme distress of not having meat for more than one day, or a chip of wood for fire, the governor found himself obliged to repeat the marching out which he made on the 16th, in which he was equally fortunate as in this. At the head of 2500 men he marched from Pampeluna to Zafalla, to collect grain, and having reinforced his column with the garrisons of Tudela and Caparosso, he had about 3000 infantry, supported by 200 horse, with five pieces of cannon; I was returning to the capital with four battalions and a regiment of cavalry, and marched to receive him on the high road, and placed them in this form—the first on that part of the road defended by a wood; the second and third deployed upon the left of the same on a height; the cavalry divided between the van and rear guards was to march on the high road in such a manner that the fifth battalion should occupy the town of Trelas on the right of the same.

"On seeing the enemy, the second and third opened their fire upon their van guard; at the same time the first did the same upon the rear guard, and was immediately followed by the fifth; our artillery then acted, which consisted of two pieces, every fire from which, as well as the musquetry, told. On all sides the killed fell by dozens, and the groans and clamours of the wounded were heard. The enemy then, reduced to the last extremity, soaked with their blood that road which had so frequently facilitated the conveyance of their robberies. An accident, which I was not able to foresee, enabled them to place their artillery, and act with it. Cannon balls, grape shot, and even grenades, were employed against my columns, but

but in vain; because they remained firm and constant, notwithstanding the heavy losses which they continued to suffer. Three times my cavalry endeavoured to attack the enemy's; but they never dared to separate themselves from their infantry, thus evincing, at the expense of their pride, their cowardice. Abbé lost a part of the fruits of the robberies, which remained in the hands of my soldiers, who also loaded themselves with the enemy's musquets, knapsacks, &c. Abbé was slightly wounded, as were likewise Generals Baron de Moosan and Baron de Calsan, who accompanied him. Two commandants of battalion were killed, and the Spanish renegado Chason: we found in the field 17 officers, and more than 300 dead soldiers. Besides the three generals, there have been ten officers and a great number of soldiers wounded, who with those killed amount to more than 1000. According to letters received from Paupeluna, the French officers in that city even say that the fire of my soldiers might be compared to that they experienced at Austerlitz and Jena. They are terrified; and I am persuaded that nothing but the distress they suffer for want of provisions could oblige them to repeat those forlorn attempts. My loss amounts to 29 killed, three officers, and 137 wounded," &c. &c. &c.

His Lordship's movements towards the north were much relieved by intelligence from the southern parts of Spain; for though his dispatches from Cadiz had informed him of the return to that place of the detachment under General Cruz that had been sent to the eastward for the relief of General Ballasteros; yet they also conveyed him information of another expedition having being immediately fitted out, and of the troops been landed at Huelva as far back as the 15th, when they had, in fact, met with no opposition, the retiring enemy having evacuated and destroyed the castle of Niebla on the 12th of the month.

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In the north, General Foy proceeded on his route to Astorga, which place had actually surrendered some days before to a small Spanish force of only twelve hundred men, although Foy had then advanced as far as Baneza for their relief. The victorious Spaniards, however, were too few to encounter such a force, amounting to as many thousands as they had hundreds; they accordingly evacuated that place immediately, but not without carrying away the whole French garrison as prisoners.

The Marquis now thought it improper to leave such a force unbroken; and, accordingly, having ordered in the latter end of August that a sufficient number of the allied troops should be collected at Arevalo, he quitted Madrid on the 1st of September, in order to direct their movements.

At this period the garrison of Madrid consisted of the 5th, 43d, 45th, 52d, 74th, 83d, 88th, Scotch brigade, Ross, some Portuguese, and likewise some Spanish troops; all under the command of that excellent officer, Baron Alten: and the general recruiting for the Spanish corps of Don Carlos and Don Julian went on briskly; these leaders being expected to take at least 12,000 men from the capital alone; besides which a militia was raised in the city, to consist of horse and foot to a considerable amount.

At this period also a very important event took place, the general and extraordinary Cortes having made a treaty of friendship, union, and alliance, between that country and Russia, under British mediation: and in which it is stipulated that the two high contracting parties, in consequence of the proposed friendship, shall come to an understanding without delay, and agree on every thing which may have connection with their respective interests, and with the firm intention to prosecute a vigorous war against the Emperor of the French, their common enemy, and engaging from that date to concur sincerely in every thing which may be advantageous to the one

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Good conduct of the Portuguese.

or the other party. By this state document also, the Russian emperor engaged to acknowledge the Cortes as a legitimate authority, and to guarantee the constitution which they had framed and sanctioned; to which it was added that all commercial relations should be forthwith re-established.

If there was any thing to counterbalance the tide of success at this period in favour of the Spaniards, it was a notification from the consul Amatlar at Carthage, to the British governor of Gibraltar, that about the middle of August he had received information from the board of Health that there were some suspicious cases of fever in their hospitals, but that the local government had taken precautions to guard against the spreading of this horrible infection, which but a few years before had nearly depopulated that ill fated district.

On the 4th the Marquis marched from Arevalo, and passed the Douro on the 6th, at the fords of Herrera and El Abrojo; previous to which, General Foy having heard of the surrender of Astorga, returned to the Esla, and marched upon Carvajales, with a view to surprise and cut off the Portuguese militia already stated to have been employed under Lieutenant-General the Condé d'Amarante in blockading Zamora. This General, however, made good his retreat, without loss, to the frontiers of Portugal; and General Foy could do nothing more than carry off the French garrison, which he did on the 29th of August, thinking their position unsafe, and then marched for Torresillas. The good management of the Portuguese general, and the steadiness of his troops on this occasion, drew forth great, and, indeed, well merited praise, from the Marquis of Wellington, who observed in his public dispatches that he could not avoid drawing the attention of the British government to the conduct of the Condé d'Amarante, and of the militia under his command, in these operations, and also pointing out the zeal of this militia, principally
drawn

Valladolid abandoned by the French.

drawn from the provinces of Tralos Montes, in thus voluntarily serving beyond the frontiers of the kingdom, a service which extended beyond the limits of their agreement.

The whole remains of the army of Portugal, being now collected between Valladolid and Tordesillas, the Marquis found their advanced guard on the 6th of September strongly posted on the heights of La Cisterniga; and at the same time he had information that there was a considerable body of troops in and about the former place.

As it was late in the day before the allied troops had crossed the Douro, the Marquis thought it imprudent to move forward before the morning of the 7th; but the enemy did not chuse to await his approach, retiring from La Cisterniga during the night, and abandoning Valladolid in the morning as soon as they saw the British advance, blowing up the bridge on crossing the Pisuerga in order to arrest the pursuit. They were closely followed, however, by the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Ponsonby, with a detachment of the 12th light dragoons through the town; but some time having elapsed before the infantry could come up, the retiring troops could not be prevented from destroying the bridges, by which means their loss was less than might have been expected.

In fact, so great was the terror of the French that we understood that they only fired five guns before they hastily fled towards Burgos; but it appears that some of our troops reached them, especially the cavalry, and caused them a great loss, the enemy abandoning their provisions, ammunition, baggage wagons, &c.

This triumphant entry into Valladolid, although it had been only a few days under the French yoke, now caused the most inconceivable joy; and it has further been mentioned that the Marquis of Wellington, with the most judicious attention to the wants of the poor Spaniards

Spaniards, had all the waggons brought into Valladolid, laden with the plunder of that town and neighbourhood; and permitted the poor injured people, in the most unexpected manner, to recover their lost property. Such considerate conduct must always operate favourably in support of the British character.

After this they retired along the right bank of the Pisuerga, and in the evening had got as far as Duenas. Though the Gallician army had retired from Astorga, as already mentioned, on the approach of General Foy; yet no sooner had he commenced his retreat on the Douro, than they again advanced to the Escla; indeed, the Spanish corps seem now to have gained fresh courage on all sides, for it also appears that the French garrison of Cuenca, which had evacuated that place on hearing of the surrender of the Retiro, being in fact part of Suchet's army, had immediately afterwards been taken prisoners by General Villa Campa, to the amount of one thousand men, with two guns, &c.

At this period also the Marquis received intelligence from Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, that he had advanced as far as Llerena in pursuit of the troops under General Drouet.

The Marquis of Wellington did not, however, give up the pursuit, but continued to follow the enemy with the whole of his troops until the 16th of September, when he was joined at Pampliega by three divisions of infantry, and a small body of cavalry, of the army of Galicia; his excellency the Captain-General Castanos having arrived at head-quarters on the 14th.

On the 16th, the retreating enemy had taken a strong position on the heights behind Celada del Carmino, when his Lordship made arrangements for attacking them on the morning of the following day; but they thought proper to retire during the night,

and were driven to the heights close to Burgos, through which town they retired during the night of the 17th, leaving behind them some cloathing and other stores, and a large quantity of wheat and barley.

After this they retired to Briviesca, where they were joined by about seven thousand conscripts from France, and, as the Marquis was informed, were there to wait the arrival of Massena, who, as was reported, was ordered by the local government of France to proceed for the command of the army.

It was necessary to pass the river of Arlanzon in the vicinity of Burgos; but the castle of that town commands the passages of the river and the roads communicating with them, so completely, that the British army could not cross it before the 19th, when that operation was effected in two columns, the 5th division and Brigadier General Bradford's brigade above the town, whilst the 1st division with Brigadier General Pack's brigade, and Major General Anson's cavalry passed below it.

The city of Burgos, now, as it may be called, the last refuge of the French, in that part of Spain, is situated in that division of the country allotted to the army of the north; and General Caffarelli, who had been there on the 17th, had placed in the castle a garrison of the troops of that army, consisting, as was reported, of two thousand five hundred men.

The enemy had taken considerable pains not only to fortify this castle of Burgos, but had also occupied with a horn work the hill of St. Michael's, which has a considerable command over some of the works of the castle, at the distance of three hundred yards.

They had likewise occupied other parts of that hill with flèches, and other works for the protection of their picquets and outposts.

As soon as the first division of the allied army crossed the river Arlanzon on the 19th of September, the enemy's

enemy's outposts were driven in by the light infantry battalion of Colonel Sterling's brigade, under the command of the Honourable Major Cocks, supported by Brigadier General Pack's brigade; and the enemy's outworks on the hill of St. Michael's, with the exception of the horn work, were occupied by the allied troops, which were posted close to the horn work.

As soon as it was dark, the same troops, with the addition of the 42d regiment, attacked and carried by assault the horn work which the enemy had occupied in strength. In this operation, Brigadier General Pack, Lieutenant Colonel Hill of the 1st Portuguese regiment, Colonel Campbell of the 16th, Major Williams of the 4th Cacadores, Major Dick of the 42d regiment, and the Honourable Major Cocks, of the 75th regiment, commanding the light infantry battalion, distinguished themselves most gallantly. The latter, in particular, who led the attack of the enemy's post in the morning, also entered the horn work by its gorge at night. In this affair, the allies captured three pieces of cannon, and one captain, with sixty two others, prisoners; but at the same time, owing to the strength of the work, their loss was very severe, consisting of Major Pierpoint, assistant Quarter Master General, and Lieutenants Gregorson and Milne, of the 42d regiment, killed, with four Captains and six Lieutenants wounded, some of whom died afterwards; the Portuguese lost, of officers, one Lieutenant, and one ensign killed, besides several wounded.

The whole number of killed were, British 47, Portuguese 24; wounded British 242, Portuguese 93: making a grand total of 71 killed, 323 wounded, with 16 missing.

However great this loss, yet the attempt in which it took place was absolutely necessary; for it was impossible to ascertain the exact state of the works of the castle of Burgos, until possession was obtained of the hill of St. Michael's.

Purgos- described.

On the two days immediately following the attack, the allied troops were actively employed in establishing themselves on the hill of St. Michael's, and in constructing such works as were best calculated to forward their future operations. At that period, the whole of the army had crossed the Arlanzon, with the exception of the 6th division, and one division of the Spanish infantry; and the siege of the castle of Burgos was commenced in form.*

About this time also the Marquis received intelligence from Sir Rowland Hill of his being at Truxillo on the 14th, and that he was then about putting into execution his orders to be at Cropesa, four days afterwards; also with respect to the French army in the South, that Marshal Soult had not left Granada as far down as the 8th, at which time General Balasteros

* To understand these operations better it may be proper to state that Burgos, which had long continued to enjoy splendour and pre-eminence, as the Capital of Old Castile, the cradle of the Spanish monarchy, has for the last two centuries declined from its prosperity, and is now a gloomy irregular town, containing only about 8 or 9000 inhabitants. It is surrounded by walls, and built on a declivity forming the right bank of the river Arlanzon, over which are thrown three stone bridges connecting the town with the pleasant suburb of La Beza.

On the brow of the adjacent hill stands an ancient castle which has been repaired and strengthened with works by the French; and beyond this is another small hill called St. Michael's, wherein a horn work had been erected, which we have detailed as taken by storm. The castle itself is a lofty square building of solid masonry, and commands the hill of St. Michael's, which in its turn overlooks the outer defences of the former. Adjoining to the castle is a church, which the French have converted into a fort, and both these are included within the distinct lines of circumvallation, the whole forming a fortress of an oblong figure. All these three lines must be successively carried before the castle can be taken. The commander of the fortress is a General who has long acted under Caffarelli; and its importance may be judged of from the fact that whilst it is occupied by the French, their army may remain in perfect safety at Briviesca, a walled city only six leagues distant, and separated from the plain of Burgos by a lofty mountain; at the next stage beyond which, on the road towards France, is the tremendous pass of Pancorbo which secures the approach to the Ebro.

lasteros had followed the enemy's movements from the Guadalupe, and had been very successful, having advanced as far as Loxa on the 6th, the enemy having then abandoned Andujar and Jaen: whilst the armies of Joseph Buonaparte, and of Suchet were still in Valencia.

Though the city of Burgos itself was in possession of the allied forces, yet the head quarters were at Villa Toro in its vicinity; and the operations were still carried on against the castle. On the night of the 22d, the Marquis of Wellington directed an attempt to be made to take by storm the exterior line of the enemy's works, one of the batteries destined to protect the allied position, when in them, having been in such a state of preparation as to give hopes that it would be ready to open on the morning of the 23d.

The attack was to have been made by detachments of Portuguese troops belonging to the 6th division, which occupied the town of Burgos, and invested the castle on the southwest side, on the enemy's left, whilst a detachment of the 1st division, under Major Lawrie of the 79th regiment, should scale the wall in front.

Unfortunately the Portuguese troops were so strongly opposed, that they could not make any progress on the enemy's flank, and the escalade could not take place. In consequence of this the British loss was severe; Major Lawrie was killed, and Captain Fraser, who commanded a detachment from the brigade of guards, was wounded. Both these officers, and indeed all those employed on this occasion, exerted themselves to the utmost; but the attack on the enemy's flank having failed, the success of the escalade was impracticable.

On the 27th the allied batteries were completed, and ready to open on the enemy's interior lines, as soon as the besieging troops could be established within the exterior works; and the enemy's army of observation

Capture of Antiquera.

servation at the same period was about Pancorbo, and Miranda, on the Ebro, with their advanced posts at Briviesca; but they had hitherto made no movements to impede the operations of the assailants.

In the south, Marshal Soult now found himself obliged to evacuate Grenada on the 15th of September, and to march towards the kingdom of Valencia, in order to form a junction with the armies of Suchet and of the intrusive king; and General Ballasteros immediately afterwards entered that ancient and interesting city.

This General on the 2d of September, near Antiquera, defeated the enemy's corps consisting of 8,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 6 pieces of cannon, commanded by Generals Villat and Semelet, who covered Soult's rear; he dislodged this force completely from its position, pursued it more than a league and a half, and obliged it to leave behind some prisoners, and two of their pieces of artillery; after which he took possession of Antiquera which they could no longer defend.

Two days afterwards a part of his advanced guard surprised in Loxa a part of Soult's troops, and made more than 200 prisoners.

About the same period also, General Elio, in command of the troops, lately under the direction of General O'Donnel, took Consuegra by capitulation.

On the failure of the proposed assault on the exterior lines of Burgos, it was found necessary to proceed by sap; and accordingly several mines were prepared, one of which being exploded at midnight, of the 29th, a breach was effected in the outer wall, which some of the party, destined to attack it, were enabled to storm; but owing to the darkness of the night; the detachment, who were to support the advanced party, missed their way, and the advance

were

were driven off the breach before they could be effectually supported.

The breach, as effected by this mine, was not of a description to be stormed, except at the moment of the explosion, and it was necessary to improve it by fire, before the attempt could be repeated. But all endeavours on the part of the assailants, to construct batteries in the best situation to fire upon the wall, failed in consequence of the great superiority of the enemy's fire from the nature of their situation.

In the mean time, another mine had been placed under the wall, which was ready on the morning of the 4th of October, and a fire was opened the same morning from a battery constructed under cover of the horn work.

The cannonade from this battery improved the breach first made; and the explosion of the second mine, at five o'clock of the same evening, effected a second breach: on which both were immediately stormed by the 2d battalion of the 24th regiment, under the command of Captain Hedderwick, which had been ordered into the trenches for that purpose; and the allied troops were established within the exterior line of the works of the castle of Burgos.

The conduct of the 24th regiment was highly praiseworthy; and captain Hedderwick, and Lieutenants Holmes and Fraser, who led the two storming parties, particularly distinguished themselves; and it is pleasing to reflect that this operation was effected without suffering any very severe loss.

Up to this period of the siege, the enemy's army still continued in observation upon the Ebro, and did not make any attempt to disturb the operations though they had extended their left as far as Logrono, but with what intention did not appear.—

In thus bringing down the biography of our gallant Countryman to the siege of Burgos, after contemplating the important consequences of the battle of Salamanca,

lamanca, the occupation of Madrid, &c. we have closed at a memorable era of his life, establishing a point from whence its brilliant continuation may be said to take a date ; as far, at least, as regards the war in the Peninsula : for the recent facts which we have thus delineated, the pursuit of Joseph, the uncertain and retrograde motions of Soult, the dispersion of the army of Marmont, the occupation of Valladolid, and the gallant and energetic proceedings at Burgos, are nothing more than a continuation of the consequences of that first brilliant victory, if considered with reference to past events, in the *Defence* of Spain ; but at the same time form the germ of future history, the point from whence the historian or biographer must set out in describing its Liberation.

Waving all further observations, therefore, on these recent events, we shall take a slight view of the more prominent parts of the character of the noble subject of our biography, as illustrative of, and deducible from, the preceding pages.

Perhaps one of the most extraordinary results of past occurrences is the state of energy and activity which his Lordship, aided by the brilliant talents, and active assiduity, of Field-Marshal Sir William Beresford,* has given to the Portuguese army, and would no doubt have imparted long since, and with even greater facility, to the Spaniards, had such a measure been approved of by that government.

An intelligent military traveller has offered some thoughts on this subject, which even now are not inapplicable

* This gallant officer, so often mentioned in the preceding narration, is a minor branch of the Waterford family, and brother of Captain Beresford, whose naval services are so well known, and have been so often recorded. To trace the military progress of the Marshal would be to recount almost every event of the past war.—His capture of the Cape of Good Hope, and of Buenos Ayres, his services in Egypt, &c. &c. would of themselves require a volume, and we trust that the fund of military biography will yet be enriched with a suitable record of his fame.

applicable. He says, "I am persuaded that the Spaniards never will be conquered. They very strongly resemble the English in the frame of their bodies, and even in their undaunted minds. They may be defeated a thousand times, but they will never be subdued. You are wrong too when you talk in England that they have nothing to fight for, and exclaim, *Give them a constitution! give them liberty!* In the first place they have their country to fight for, their soil, their home; and against foreigners and invaders: surely this is something. And as to liberty, they have as much as they want—as much as they are really capable of. With respect to constitution you might as well say, *Give them English roast beef!* They have no idea of it; they know nothing about it; and therefore neither know the want of it, nor desire it. If you were to offer it to them, if you were to tell them of balanced powers, &c. they would decline it.—Believe me, my dear friend, there is a great deal of nonsense in your party refinements at home. You know nothing about this people. They are brave to excess; but of course cannot stand against veteran and disciplined armies. We will at length remedy this defect. *The Spanish armies want organization.*"

It is indeed a well known fact, that of all the armies of Europe that of Portugal, previous to the present war, was of all others the most miserable. To trace the causes of that *military* and *civil* degeneracy which had so long pervaded that country is, however, unnecessary; it is sufficient to observe that the English example has been powerfully operative in the one case, and it is to be hoped will be permanently so in the other; whilst in Spain a spirit has been elicited, which, if well directed, presents a flattering prospect to the philanthropist.

With respect to the gallant Wellington himself it has been well observed, that it is impossible fully to estimate the vast talents, the unwearied exertions, and the

great resources of this unrivalled soldier, whose variety of genius is only equalled by his deep and excellent judgment.

We have seen a recent anecdote which states that at one period of the late battle of Salamanca, a column of the British was exceedingly pressed by the overbearing and superior strength of a part of the enemy's line opposed to it ; it gave way, and another column was advancing to support it, when Lord Wellington came up at the moment and ordered the advancing column to disperse by files, to hasten round the hill immediately in their rear, and to form behind it. The General of Brigade was astonished at the precipitate retreat of his advancing column, and called a rally, when his men said, "There is Lord Wellington, Sir ; we are obeying him."

The French, supposing a general route had taken place, pursued the retiring column, and became disordered as they quickly advanced. Lord Wellington then told the General of Brigade he would find his column formed on the other side of the hill, and so he did ; when the enemy, as they rounded the slope, were met by the supposed fugitives, who advanced in their turn, and made a terrible slaughter.

Previous to the late distinguished events, which have certainly raised his character as high as his most sanguine friends could have wished, it was well observed of him, that in all his former actions there were two or three principal characteristic traits ; an indefatigable activity, a sagacity which sees and determines in the moment, and a promptitude which instantaneously acts ; an indifference to the mere circumstance of numerical equality, and incomparable readiness in disencumbering himself of whatever is superfluous ; and an equal readiness in determining what is superfluous, and the exact point of time when it becomes so. Combined with these traits it is worthy of notice that Lord Wellington is stated, by those who have the best opportunities of knowing it, to enjoy

joy an admirable self-possession and command of animal spirits and temper under any state of circumstances, never losing himself in the moment of victory, coolly weighing the passing events where he finds himself checked, and thus proving that he would not lose himself even in defeat !

In contemplating the character of a great man, it is natural to compare him with others who have excelled in like circumstances ; and thus it has been said, that, like the Duke of Marlborough, he possesses a degree of civil talent, which of itself would have raised him into consideration, and which, when united to his military ability, renders the latter doubly effectual. In consequence of this, so well known to ministers at home, the Marquis has long possessed fuller powers than it is generally considered expedient to grant to any military or naval commander. So many specimens, indeed, has he given of his diplomatic skill, that government feel satisfied they may safely repose in his hands, not only the various points of national honour, but even the minuter and more formal decourus of national intercourse, whilst his long practice and accurate observation having placed him on a footing with any diplomatist of his time in the knowledge of all necessary forms, and rendered him as expert in the letter as in the spirit of diplomatic negociation.

With respect to some parts of his character, in detail, we shall first notice his indefatigable activity ; of this, indeed, it is unnecessary to bring proofs, for proofs innumerable may be found in the preceding pages ; we may, however, be permitted to illustrate it by anecdote, and it is well known that his Lordship's rapidity of motion has frequently outstripped that of his best mounted attendants. On one of these occasions, having sent couriers in advance to order relays of horses, he arrived at a village alone and unattended : but on asking for a horse he was speedily recognized, when the whole Portuguese inhabitants crouded round to see the great

Attention to his soldiers.

Lord ; and so strong was their curiosity, and so affable his Lordship's kindness, that he actually permitted them for some time to examine him at the door of his inn, and then mounting with a smile, rode off, followed by their united prayers and commendations.

That Lord Wellington sees every thing himself, and that he may be said to live with his soldiers, is another important trait in his character. He never orders his army to move without seeing that the troops are well provided with one or two days' sustenance ; he always puts them in motion at an early hour, in order that they may arrive at their ground for the night in good time ; and he never halts them without taking care that every comfort and facility possible may be afforded to the troops for the preparation of their repast.

To their comfort in cantonments he is equally attentive, and also to the hospitals. Latterly, we understand, that the medical department of his army has been ably filled, and faithfully attended to, in all its departments ; but we have heard that, in an early part of the war, his Lordship's regulations were deemed so oppressive by the then medical people, that, in a body, they sent in their resignations. To this he is said merely to have answered, "*Gentlemen, I accept your resignations, and shall immediately write home for a fresh medical staff: but, mark me! until they come out, you shall remain here, and you shall perform your duty.*"

Secret to an extreme in his plans, yet Lord Wellington has that frankness of communication at his table, that he has been accused of not preserving the proper concealment of his own intentions: this is too absurd, however, even to require refutation. But on service he is so precise in his manners, so formal, as we understand, even to his own brother-in-law, that implicit obedience is the certain result. Indeed, he trusts so much to his own powers, that he asks the opinion of no man. Even his staff are always igno-
rant

Private fortune, &c.

rant of his intentions. At head-quarters all is conjecture—he thinks, acts, and succeeds; and so well is he understood and seconded, that scarcely is his plan formed, before it is executed. So guarded, in fact, is his secrecy, that we understand he once humourously said, “If I thought the hair of my head knew my plans I would wear a wig.”

To undertake all this, much activity of body as well as of mind is absolutely necessary: nor do we think it beneath the dignity of history to record, that at present his Lordship is much thinner from the fatigue he undergoes, but is nevertheless in excellent health: and, we are told, that even to support this he lives but moderately, drinking only a few glasses of wine after dinner, conversing with great frankness, and seemingly unconscious of his own greatness. In no instance whatever does he claim to himself any superior comforts, but simply sleeps on a leathern mattress, two feet wide, when he can procure shelter: at others lying on the bare ground, surrounded by his gallant officers and faithful soldiery.

With habits of this kind we may naturally suppose that, to him, wealth is an object but of minor consideration. In fact his brother, Mr. Wellesley Pole, distinctly stated some time ago, in the House of Commons, that his whole property did not exceed 40,000*l.*; of which 5000*l.* was given to him by the East India Company, for his active services as a Commissioner for settling the affairs of the Mysore; 5000*l.* the amount of his Seringapatam prize-money; and 25,000*l.* the reward of the Mahratta war. In short, as we understand from the statement of a friend of his Lordship's, so far from deriving any profit from his commands and appointments, it is a fact perfectly well known, that all the emoluments of these situations were carried by him to the credit of government, and actually paid by him into the Company's treasury. Neither for this voluntary sacrifice, nor for his services in India, has he received any reward

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from

from the East India Company, excepting the 5000*l.* already mentioned. In reality, therefore, Lord Wellington, considering his rank and family, is a very poor man. Of his personal fortune one half is settled on his wife; he has in addition a regiment, and a pension of two thousand a year; in Ireland, or in Portugal, he has never made one farthing; and in Spain, notwithstanding the smallness of his fortune, he, in 1809, actually declined the pay of a Captain-General, although it would have amounted to 3,000*l.* a year, and was frequently pressed upon him by the Spanish government.

To inherit his titles and to share his fortune, he has already two sons; the eldest, *Charles*, born the 3d of February 1807, and another born the 16th of January 1808; but it is to be hoped, that this modern Marlborough, this military Nelson, will yet be long preserved to his grateful country, to his admiring friends, and to his faithful consort; and that a noble and a numerous race will hand down his gallant name to latest posterity!

Before we close, it may be proper to say a word of the Spanish character, which may now be fairly considered as beginning to expand itself.

The enthusiasm of the Spaniards in favour of our gallant countrymen may be drawn from the fact, that, upon a recent occasion, when Lord Wellington paid a visit to Ciudad Rodrigo, he was received about a mile from the town, by a picquet of children, from eight to nine years of age, who were armed with small musquets and side arms; and on entering upon the bridge he was received in a similar manner, with the addition of an infant band of music; with which his Lordship was so much delighted that he dismounted, and marched at the head of his juvenile band of honour into the town, amid the acclamations of the populace.

On arriving at the principal square, a Spanish lady presented his Lordship with a nosegay, beautifully embroidered

embroidered and surrounded by a border, on which were these words :—“ To the ever victorious and immortal Wellington, Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo : this is offered by a Spanish lady, grateful for the taking of the two bulwarks of Castile and Estremadura.”

As every anecdote of one so revered and honoured, particularly when characteristic of men and of the times, must be interesting, we cannot pass over a recent delineation of the circumstances attending the entrance into Madrid ; fully conceiving, as has been already observed, that they will be perused with interest, notwithstanding the length of time which has elapsed since their occurrence.

“ From the neighbourhood of the Palace of Escorial, I reached the avenues of this magnificent city on the 12th, at a little before twelve o'clock at noon. For the last league, I was received by the people with loud acclamations ; and on reaching the arch leading to the end of the city, in which the royal palace is situated, I found a lane formed by two Spanish regiments of horse, and a brigade of our heavy cavalry.

“ Lord Wellington soon arrived, and I followed close upon his staff, which was not numerous ; and thus, at a few paces from him, witnessed his reception. He was dressed in a plain blue great coat, with his General's hat bound with white ostrich feathers. He looked remarkably well ; but from the plainness of his dress, and the smallness of his retinue, he was not immediately recognized. Still the party was English ; and from the crowd in the streets we passed, as well as from the balconies and windows of well dressed people, the loud *vivas* and acclamations caused a sensation of pleasure only equalled by their own feelings upon the occasion. But when, by myself and others in the suit, it was explained that the Spaniards now beheld the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, the sensation was indescribable ;—handkerchiefs waving from above—hats thrown in the air—every one pressing

Glorious reception of the Marquis.

pressing forward to mark well the General-in-Chief, amidst a noise that drowned those exclamations of satisfaction and delight that every mouth uttered ;—men, women, children, embracing us with marks almost of adoration, welcomed us to their city, with expressions of the most heart-felt satisfaction.

“ The Earl with delight turned to the animated groupes, and repeatedly taking off his hat, seemed to thank them for that enthusiastic display of their patriotism. This all passed in a city most strikingly beautiful ; the houses of which, mostly white, are well and regularly built, and on this occasion were ornamented, even to the upper stories, with silk and muslin draperies of the gayest colours, and of the richest and most costly materials, suspended from the windows ; the balconies being festooned with the same materials in the most fanciful manner, occasionally displaying rich tapestry, and the whole filled with the animated figures of the delighted inhabitants, in whose countenances joy manifested itself in a thousand forms. Nor must I omit, that the elegant costume of the Spanish women, as well as their beauty, added to the effect of the whole.

“ Lord Wellington entered the Town-house, or rather that of the municipality, and I proceeded through the city to a coffee-house, to procure refreshment. I passed the greater part of the day in my observations as to the reality of the satisfaction so conspicuous in the appearance of the people, and I feel confident that it is general and unfeigned. The city was illuminated last night, and will be so for the two ensuing. The concourse of people in the streets on this occasion is immense, and the scene is brilliant and lively beyond description. We are received wherever we go with acclamations, and invitations are pressed upon us from all quarters ; in short, we seem to be admitted into the bosom of this people.”

The general accounts from all parts of the Peninsula have long been highly promising to the Spanish cause.

cause. At Alicant, and indeed throughout the whole of the south-east part of Spain, as soon as the Sicilian expedition arrived, all the inhabitants shewed themselves in the best spirits; and evinced the greatest confidence, and declared their readiness to meet the enemy, when Mr. Tupper, the English consul resident there, first issued a proclamation, announcing the recent glorious events at Salamanca and Madrid, and calling upon the Valencians to rise in a mass, and destroy their invaders in every practicable way.

A new coinage was issued at Madrid, in the name of Ferdinand the 7th; and there the organization of a regular, and it is to be hoped vigorous, government, has been rapidly going on.

In fact, we may now see that the Spanish character, as far as their antipathies to the English were concerned, has been for some time undergoing a change. They have now learned to regard our troops in the true light of deliverers, and, no longer distrustful of the English heretic, the Spanish *Christian* is proud of fighting by his side.

It is proper to say a word or two of the *Guerillas*, who have been already so often mentioned; and perhaps their present state may be best described from a letter written on the spot, which observes that, with respect to the *Guerillas*, MINA is the most conspicuous of their chiefs; his army consists of seven or eight thousand men, of whom 2,000 are cavalry. He keeps nearly six thousand with him at his head quarters, which are in the vicinity of Pamplona: the remainder are detached on different services. The whole of these troops are in excellent discipline, particularly the cavalry, and are well clothed, well fed, and regularly paid every four days. His position has long been particularly annoying to the French, as it obliges them to keep a numerous garrison at Pamplona, and to have almost an army to escort their convoys to and from France. He likewise attacks their foraging parties, and has frequently of late driven them to the

very gates of that town. His troops are entirely devoted to him, and place the utmost confidence in his abilities ; he has constantly either led them to victory, or, where opposed by superior force, has withdrawn them with little loss. Although constantly in action, and consequently meeting with daily losses, still his army increases in numbers.

He has of late received considerable pecuniary assistance from the Spanish government, which, combined with the booty occasionally taken from the French, and the revenue raised in that part of the country which he occupies, enables him, with economy, to pay his troops regularly. He, of late, has rarely declined to meet the French on equal terms ; and the enthusiasm and valour of his troops have justified him in so doing ; having almost invariably come off with advantage. These actions cost dear ; but it shews his troops what they are equal to when ably conducted.

With respect to the other Guerillas corps it must be confessed, indeed, that they are far inferior, though certainly the men all possess the necessary qualities for making excellent soldiers. Their officers have all risen in the same manner as Mina ; but then they either have not equal abilities, or perhaps have not had the same opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the military profession : they are, however, willing, and endeavour to learn ; but their discipline at present is very imperfect ; they do not, consequently, ever venture to meet the French at a charge, or where manœuvring is necessary. The men are besides badly clothed, scarcely ever receiving any pay, and, what is worse, are most miserably fed. These various corps are known by the names of their chiefs. Longa has 4,000 men ; Don Gaspar 1500 ; Renovales's, Porlier's, and Campello's corps are estimated as making up the whole 12,000. This forms the army under Mendizabel which has been so long active in the northern provinces.

The state of the French army in Spain, even at this period, may be drawn from a communication from a person on the spot, in which he declares that without seeing the various places, it was impossible to conceive its actual state, or the slight tenure by which the enemy held it. In most of the small towns, and in every one which was a post town, there were complete fortifications. This it seems was found necessary, not only to prevent surprise from the Guerillas, but also to overawe the natives—in all cases, the church or convent, in the centre of the village, with six or eight of the nearest houses, were formed into a place of arms or castle; and this was generally surrounded by one, two, or three walls, and as many ditches. In the middle of the main street, there were always a wall, gateway, and trenches; and opposite every avenue to the place, more trenches and logs of wood laid across—and all the walls every where loop-holed.

They obliged the inhabitants to work at these walls, and forbade them, on pain of death, going out of, or coming into the village after dark—yet notwithstanding all this, there were few places where the Guerillas did not attack them.

At every post town or village there were 200 men stationed, and by these the mail was always escorted from place to place, in parties of 100 dragoons: yet it must be confessed that it has been stated that the poor inhabitants often dreaded the Guerillas as much as the French, for they levied contributions on them, and plundered them most unmercifully.

We shall now close with a recent statement of the whole hostile and allied force in the Peninsula, which has been lately published, and which we believe may be considered as very correct.

The existing condition of the concerns of Spain, occasioned by the valour of the allied armies, and the unparalleled skill and activity of their commander, certainly promises the fairest issue to the contest there.

 Force of the British army.

Success itself is a most operative cause in the production of success ; and when affairs have once proceeded in a certain train for some time, they will have acquired an inclination to continue in that course,—a degree of velocity beyond that imparted to them by the hand of their director,—which it is difficult to stop. Yet must we not believe, even with all these favouring circumstances, that we are beyond the reach or possibility of sustaining a check in the Peninsula,—that we have so beaten down opposition that it can never again lift the head against us. In truth, such are the comparative numbers of the contending armies in Spain, that if we had never yet met the enemy, and had never given them a proof of our mettle, they might reasonably enough, looking only to their own forces, have supposed themselves able to drive us from the field ; and we verily believe, that Lord Wellington and his army are the only General and troops in Europe, against whom Soult would not march with the utmost confidence of success, instead of circuitously skulking “like a guilty thief” through the kingdoms of Granada, Murcia, and Valencia.

From the Peninsula a variety of papers have been received, which enable us to throw some light upon the actual state of the allied and of the enemy's forces in that quarter.

1. THE BRITISH.

	Rank and file effective.
British, under Lord Wellington and Gen. Hill	40,000
under General Maitland	6,000
Garrisons of Cadiz and Carthagena....	6,000
	<hr/>
Total Effective British	52,000
Portuguese Total Effectives	24,000
	<hr/>
Total disposable British and Portuguese	76,000

2. SPANISH

2. SPANISH ARMIES.

The 1st army is stationed in Catalonia, under the general command of General Lacy. This army amounts to 17,000 men; of which number 6000 are in the garrisons of Montserrat, Vich, Manresa, Cardona, and at some other parts of less importance. The disposable army, amounting to 11,000 men, is thus distributed:—

Under Lacy's immediate command	3000
Eroles	3000
Sarfseid	3000
Rovira, the Conqueror of Figueras....	2000
	<hr/>
	11,000

The 2d army is that of Valencia; the 3d army is the army of Murcia. Both of these were under the command of O'Donnel, who was lately defeated by General Harispe, at Castella. They are now under the orders of Elio, the late Viceroy at Monte Video; including Roche's division. These two armies amount to 18,000 men; of which number 11,000 are disposable and effective.

The 4th army is that of Andalusia, and is commanded by Ballasteros. It amounts to 23,000 men, of which Ballasteros has 9000; there are 14,000 men at the Isla de Leon, at Tariffa, and at Seville.

The 5th army is in Estremadura, and is commanded by Monsalud, an old Spanish officer, and Captain-General of the province. Under him are Murillo, the Condé de Penne Villemur, and Downe; and the total force, including the garrison of Badajoz, where the head-quarters are, and where General Monsalud is stationed, is 7000 men.

The 6th army is the army of Galicia, and amounts to 12,000 effectives. This includes the force under Porlier and Santocildes, and is under the general direction of General Castanos. There is also the corps
under

Guerilla force.

under the command of Don Carlos D'España, which cannot certainly exceed 4000 men.

The 7th army is that of Asturias, and is commanded by Mendizabel, having under him Renovaes. This force does not, it is believed, exceed 3000 effectives.

ABSTRACT, INCLUDING GARRISONS.

1st Army.....	17,000	Catalonia	Lacy, Comrander
2d and 3d ..	18,000	Murcia and Valencia ..	Elio,
4th Army ..	23,000	Andalusia	Ballasteros,
5th Army ..	7,000	Estremadura	Monsalud,
6th Army ..	12,000	Gallicia	Castanos,
7th Army ..	3,000	Asturias	Mendizabel,
Corps under } Espana }	4,000	Madrid.	
Total		84,000	

To this, let us add the Guerilla parties.

Mina.....	3000	in Navarre.
Duran	2500	Arragon.
Montijo (a Grandee) ..	2500	Valencia.
Villacampa	3000	Arragon.
The Empecinado	1000	Guadalaxara,
Martinez	1500	La Mancha.
Bassecourt	2000	Cuenca.
Don Julian Sanchez....	1500	

	Total	15,000 }	20,000
The detached parties	5,000 }		
Add regular troops			84,000

Total Spanish regulars and irregulars	104,000
Add the British and Portuguese	76,000

Total Allied Armies.... 180,000

The composition of this large force is understood not to be equal to its amount; and the British and Portuguese are alone, perhaps, to be yet depended upon in action with the French. At the same time, many of the Spanish corps, both regular and irregular, have displayed great bravery against the French, and must every day improve.

3. THE FRENCH.

	Effective.
1st. The Army of Soult	45,000
2d. The Army of Suchet, amounts to	26,000

Suchet has under his command the provinces of Valencia, Upper and Lower Arragon, and New Arragon; which latter province contains that part of the province of Catalonia, to the westward of Balaguer, Cervera, and Villa Franca; and includes the cities of Tarragona, and Tortosa, which is Suchet's principal depot, and is strongly fortified. The remainder of the province of Catalonia is annexed to France, and is under the orders of General Decaen, who lately was Governor-General of the Mauritius.

Suchet's corps is thus divided:—

In Valencia	9,000
Upper Arragon	6,000
Lower Arragon	5,000
New Arragon	6,000

Total 26,000

Of this force 10,000 men are stationed in the different garrisons of Tarragona, Tortosa, and Mequinenza, in New Arragon: those of Saragossa, Huesca, Balbastro, Benavane, Monson, Benaschi, Jaca, and the Cinco Villas, in Upper Arragon: the garrison of Valencia, 400 men only,) and the garrisons of Calatayud, Daroca, Alcaniz, Caspe, Morella, and Teruel, in Lower Arragon. The French in the towns of Saragossa, and of Valencia, have demolished the works of the towns, and confine themselves to the citadels, which they have strengthened by ditches and other works: and which they are thus enabled to maintain with a small force. The disposable force under Suchet is therefore 16,000 men.

3d. The army of Catalonia, under General Decaen, amounts to 20,000 men: of which 13,000 are in the garrisons of Figueras, Bascara, Olot, Rosas, Gerona, Labisbal, Palamos, Hostalrich, and Barcelona. But from these garrisons Decaen can, and does, when ne-

garrisons

Conclusion.

cessary, withdraw 4000 men, so that his disposable force may be 11,000 men.

4th. The army in Navarre, which is a separate command, amounts to 9000 men, of which 3000 are in the garrison of Pampeluna, and other posts.

5th. The army of the North, under Caffarelli, amounts to 9000 men, of which 7000 are effectives.

6th. The remains of Marmont's army amount to 30,000, of which 25,000 are disposable, and the remainder form the garrisons of Burgos, Pancorbo, Vittoria, and other posts.

7th. The army under Joseph, lately called that of the "Centre," is certainly 10,000 men, and is commanded by Marshal Jourdan.

ABSTRACT.

Soult.....	{ South of Spain, at Grenada at present } 45,000
Suchet	Valencia	26,000
Decaen	Catalonia	20,000
Navarre	Pampeluna	9,000
Caffarelli.....	Army of the North	9,000
Marmont	Burgos	30,000
Joseph	Valencia	10,000

Total 139,000

Of which there are in garrisons 32,000

Total 107,000

So that the French disposable force may certainly be estimated at 100,000 men: this however, under the present circumstances of Europe, it is to be hoped is not so preponderant a force as to paralise the allied exertions; so that we may rationally look for further opportunities of recording future victories, and of hailing an established Era in the **INDEPENDENCE OF THE PENINSULA!**

THE END.

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